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Pious Merchants, Honorable *Hidalgos*:

The Ambiguous Integration of Italian Merchants in Seville and the Atlantic, 1450-1650

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Richard Paul Ibarra

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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The Ambiguous Integration of Italian Merchants in Seville and the Atlantic, 1450-1630

by

Richard Paul Ibarra

Doctor of Philosophy in History

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From the thirteenth century onward, Italian merchants were ubiquitous in the economic activities of the Iberian Peninsula, largely underwriting the success of Iberian expansion and imperial ambitions. They took part in the incursions into North Africa and contributed to the conquest of the Canary Islands and the Caribbean. Italian merchants also became enmeshed in the administration of empire, serving as aldermen and notaries in the Spanish bureaucracy, which necessitated proving their nobility (*hidalguía*) and purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*). They participated in civic and religious processions, joined and established confraternities, supported and requested burial in local religious institutions through generous bequests. All of this contributed to their integration into Iberian communities while reinforcing Genoese identity.

Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have studied the hybrid identities of foreign merchants for decades. Much of this scholarship has demonstrated Genoese ability to integrate into their host communities but has described this as a process of assimilation that displaced Genoese identity. The cases in this dissertation contribute nuance to these long-standing debates

about hybridity and the extension of multiple identities and communal membership across time and space. Looking outward from the Iberian Peninsula, these cases played out across larger Mediterranean and Atlantic contexts, since these merchants were extensively involved in the processes of medieval and early modern European expansions, from North Africa to the Canary Islands, the Caribbean, Mexico, and beyond.

Notarial and inquisition records, petitions for nobility (*hidalguía*) and purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*), literary narratives, polemical treatises, and funerary monuments demonstrate how Genoese merchant families integrated themselves into Iberian communities while maintaining their foreign connections. Examining both merchants residing in Seville and their relatives across the Atlantic, this dissertation shows how they capitalized on an approach that mobilized their diasporic identity and ties to carve a space within Iberian society. This is what I call ambiguous integration. Their approach to integration had many parallels in the culture of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, but over time it became increasingly difficult to mobilize as a sixteenth-century anti-foreigner discourse associated these merchants with greed, deception, and an effeminacy not unrelated to their identification as "white moors" (*moros blancos*). As a result, many families dissimulated and even renounced this foreign identity and ties from the end of the sixteenth century forward.

The dissertation of Richard Paul Ibarra is approved.

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2023

For my family

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List of Abbreviations

ACS	Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla
AGI	Archivo General de Indias
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, México
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, España
AHPS	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla
AMS	Archivo Municipal de Sevilla
ARCG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
ASG	Archivio di Stato di Genova
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España

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Introduction:

The Specter of Wealth and Power: Genoese Merchants in Castile

On 11 February 1501 on the plaza of San Francisco at nine in the morning, the Genoese merchant Silvestre Vento had a letter read publicly to the local neighborhood representative (*jurado*) Francisco Marmolejo affirming his identity as a Genoese and renouncing any association with Seville.[1] He had the entire affair recorded by a notary, stating "I, Silvestre Vento, a Genoese resident (*estante*) in this city, remind you that you know very well I am Genoese and a native (*natural*) of Genoa, and that I do not have any house in this city which I myself own, nor much less any rural property (*heredad*) in Seville or its jurisdiction."[2] At stake was his inclusion on the list of tax-payers (*pecheros*), which Silvestre vehemently denied by publicly affirming his foreign Genoese identity, but also invoking the privileges that he and his compatriots had been granted by the "past kings of glorious memory, the progenitors of their highnesses [the Catholic Monarchs], and confirmed by them."[3] Clearly this was a merchant who believed he had more to gain from his Genoese privileges at the beginning of the century than he might from becoming naturalized.

Yet his juridical status and activities in Seville were by no means as static as this forceful letter, and traditional historiography on the Genoese in the city, would imply. In 1504, Silvestre retained the schoolmaster Alfonso Escudero to teach his daughter Isabel how to read "both in

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[1] Italian names will be rendered according to the most common usage in the documents consulted concerning the individual or family. The modern Italian equivalent will be given in parentheses at the first mention.

[2] A(rchivo) H(istorico) P(rovincial) de S(evilla), Protocolos 9101, ff. 145-148. Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 2:39. "Yo, Silvestre Vento, genoves estante en esta ciudad, os digo que bien sabeis como yo soy genoves y natural de Genova, y en esta ciudad no tengo ninguna casa que sea propria mia, ni menos heredad ninguna en ella ni en sus terminos...".

[3] AHPS, Protocolos 9101, ff. 145-148. Ibid. "y por ello soy libre y exento de pechar ni contribuir en ningun pecho, ni derrama, ni servicio, de los en que han de pechar los vecinos pecheros de esta ciudad, lo cual esta y asi tenemos de ello privilegio y privilegios, y mercedes y mandamientos de los reyes pasados de gloriosa memoria, progenitores de sus altezas, y por ellos confirmados y mandados guardar."

Romance and in Latin."[4] The inventory made after his death showed he owned a number of books written in Castilian, including a *Flos Sanctorum* (saints' lives) and an *ars moriendi* (a work concerning how to die well), suggesting he also learned how to read in that language.[5] By 1504 he had become a broker (*corredor de lonja*), an office he held until his death and that was theoretically forbidden to foreigners but was frequently held by Genoese. In a shift from his earlier reluctance, Vento become a denizen (*vecino*) of Seville by 1506 when he registered a contract to ship merchandise to the Canary Islands.[6] At the time he wrote his will in 1510 he had become the owner of a house and a warehouse for olive oil in the central neighborhood or *collación* of Santa María and intended to be buried in the Monastery of San Francisco – a burial location selected by many of the merchants in the city.

Vento's will also provides additional insight into his position in Sevillian society. For example, his other daughter Gregoria had entered the Monastery of Santa Paula. He stipulated significant donations to the Cathedral, which he identified as his parish, and to the church of San Sebastián, which had been the Genoese national church until 1505. Finally, he had also joined the confraternity of Santa María la Antigua centered on the Cathedral.[7] His ties to Sevillian institutions like the Monastery of San Francisco, the church of San Sebastian, the Cathedral, and the Monastery of Santa Paula integrated him into Seville's religious topography while at the same time providing opportunities to reinforce his ties with his compatriots. These institutions were frequented by many of them and the first two were the sites of chapels sponsored by the

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[4] AHPS, Protocolos 9101, f. 276v. Sánchez Herrero and Pérez González, "Aprender a leer y a escribir," 88–89.

[5] AHPS, Protocolos, 9111, f. 726-732. Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 4:215–16.

[6] AHPS, Protocolos, 1503, unfoliated. Cioranescu, "Documentos del archivo notarial de Sevilla referentes a Canarias," 205–6.

[7] AHPS, Protocolos, 9111, ff. 686v-688r. The confraternity of Santa Maria la Antigua was first documented in 1466 and also operated a hospital in the neighborhood of Santa Maria on the calle de la Victoria. See also Pérez González, *Los laicos en la Sevilla Bajomedieval*, 264.

Genoese consulate that served as focal points of the Genoese community. All of this underscores his ambiguity: inserted into the civic and religious topography of the city, yet distinctly Genoese. This is well illustrated by the fact that alongside this new recognition of *vecindad* and integration into Sevillian society, Vento continued to be identified as a "Genovés," as was his son the merchant Bartolome Vento, in the first half of the sixteenth century.[8] The case of Silvestre Vento thus illustrates some of the salient features of these merchants' institutional relationships and integration into Seville's civic religious landscape as well as their continued embeddedness in the foreign Genoese community of the city.

One of the central aims of this dissertation is to explain the tension between Vento's insistence on his privileged Genoese identity separating him from the larger community of Seville and his assimilation culminating in *vecindad* within such a short period of time, a trajectory shared by many of his merchant contemporaries. Traditional scholarship on the Genoese in Iberia gives the impression that this was a mercantile elite closed off from the city in which they lived: marrying among themselves, working primarily with each other, and accomplishing this all through zealously guarded royal privileges. They are framed as a "colony" serving only their own interests and that of their partners or employers at the expense of Castilian economic development. Some of this literature went so far as to call them hermetic enclaves.[9] There are some scattered references to intermarriage between Castilians and Italians, to those who had become *vecinos* and naturalized (*naturales*) after living for a decade or more in the kingdom, as well as to those who shifted from trade to holding civic and ecclesiastical offices.[10]

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[8] AHP, Protocolos, 9111, f. 639r. Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 4:197.

[9] Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, 72.

[10] The purported betrayal of the bourgeoisie and the ennoblement of merchants has had a considerable effect on historiography. For more on this see the introduction to Subrahmanyam, *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450–1800*. This is particularly true for the merchants of the Iberian kingdoms, whose concern

Yet the scholars presenting these cases described them as well-connected and wealthy exceptions to the typical merchant living in these colonies.[11] The reluctance of some merchants to be explicitly named *vecinos* or *naturales*, like Silvestre Vento, was a considerable factor in this traditional characterization. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to believe that their relationship to the life of their adoptive community was fleeting or nonexistent simply because they never became a *vecino* or because they maintained close ties with their compatriots.

The traditional understanding of these merchants' position in Seville is difficult to reconcile with the case studies presented in contemporary documents. Indeed, upon revisiting some of these more prominent cases, they too seemed less exceptional in their approach when compared with less prominent relatives and contemporaries that have not received the same degree of attention. The reality that emerges from the petitions these merchants commissioned, the lawsuits they engaged in, and the wills they wrote up is that these merchants were neither a hermetic colony nor uprooted immigrants assimilated and Hispanicized. What these documents illuminated seemed akin to the experience of a variety of diasporic communities, from Sephardic Jews and the Portuguese *conversos* to Mexican Americans in twentieth-century Los Angeles.[12]

The pressures exerted on Genoese and other Italian merchants were of course different from those experienced by contemporary *conversos* or by Mexican Americans centuries later.

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for ennoblement and bureaucratic offices in this period was linked in historiography with Spanish decline. For a clear example of this, see Trevor-Roper, "Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change."

[11] This characterization is widespread. To cite only a few examples: Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*; Pike, "The Image of the Genoese in Golden Age of Literature"; Gil-Bermejo García, "Naturalizaciones de italianos en Andalucía"; González Beltrán, "Extranjeros en el siglo XVIII," 376–77, 383. There are some exceptions, but even the work of Ben Yessef Garfia attentive to the Genoese ability to assimilate focuses on a case study of a highly elite banking and diplomatic family. See Ben Yessef Garfia, "Una familia genovesa entre la república y la monarquía hispánica." 376-377, 383.

[12] The literature on Portuguese conversos is vast, for preliminary orientation see Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea*; Pulido Serrano, "Plural Identities". See also the recent approach to the integration of Moriscos exemplified, among others, by Bernabé-Pons, "Identity, Mixed Unions and Endogamy of the Moriscos". For the case of Mexican Americans, see especially Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*.

Premodern states were far less capable of exerting the kind of control that the twentieth-century Mexican or U.S. government could marshal, though they were not utterly incapable of leaning in that direction. It is precisely in the sixteenth century that a marked impulse on the part of religious and secular authorities to discipline society gained broad cross-confessional traction and there was an increasing technical ability to put that interest into practice.[13] As a result, "the manipulation of history and genealogy created a climate of distrust of external appearance" and ambiguity in general became increasingly suspect, privileging identity claims that were more crystalized and spurring an increased need for its dissimulation.[14] That is not to say that the developments occurring at the end of the sixteenth century were a linear and inevitable progression.[15] Rather, the shift from an ambivalent invocation of foreign identity to its dissimulation and renunciation that occurred within that context was largely situational and layered, with several points of inflection accompanied by a good deal of variety across the large geographic expanse of the Iberian Atlantic. The last half of the sixteenth century was a marked conjuncture of various factors that germinated the pressures driving this shift. Among others, these factors included economic distress, increased anxieties about ambiguity (with regard to *conversos*, *moriscos*, *alumbrados*, false *hidalgos*, etc.), as well as the increasingly fraught relations with the principalities of Italy (envisioned as a drain on Iberian resources and unwilling

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[13] This view is forcefully expressed by Irene Silverblatt, though they are not alone in this. It is qualified to some extent by the work of Tamar Herzog, Nicholas Terpstra, and Michael Crawford (among others), noting the difficulties involved in implementing such impulses. See Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*; Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003; Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*; Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*.

[14] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 80. See also the collected essays in Braun and Pérez-Magallón, *The Transatlantic Hispanic Baroque*; Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities"; Fuchs, *Passing for Spain*; Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*. For more on early modern dissimulation, see Snyder, *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe*; Zagorin, *Ways of Lying*. For more on the medieval roots of this concern for genealogy in Iberia, see Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities."

[15] It has even been argued that there was an inherent contradiction in early modern (Baroque) conceptualizations of alterity, particularly in the distinction between acting / appearing and being (accident vs essence). See Hill, "Towards a Constructionist Essentialism: Critical Race Studies and the Baroque."

to pull their weight to sustain the benefits of empire). The Genoese were not expelled, nor did they abandon Seville and the Atlantic, but the way they mobilized their identity and connections to other Genoese changed in ways that largely continued into the eighteenth century.

This broad sketch raises several questions: What activities practiced by these merchants reinforced their integration, influenced the form it would take, and preserved their communal identity? How did the increased pressure of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries affect the way these merchants identified and were identified by their neighbors and officials? What were the contours of the discourses affecting foreign merchants and their responses?

Scope, Purpose, and Approach

Drawing on notarial and inquisition records, petitions for nobility (*hidalguía*) and purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*), literary narratives, polemical treatises, and funerary monuments, this dissertation makes three main arguments. First, it argues that certain civic and religious practice reinforced integration that can be characterized as ambiguous, in that it fostered both assimilation into the host-city while it reinforced foreign communal identity and connections to the homeland. Second, it demonstrates that these groups' integration oscillated between a more prominent invocation of foreign identity and its dissimulation or renunciation. Moreover, these oscillations and the various degrees of admixture that accompanied them were shaped not by generational change and geographic difference alone, but by the confluence of pressures that occurred specifically in the late sixteenth century. Third, this dissertation traces the anti-foreigner discourse and the merchants' responses to it that was entangled in the shifts to this approach to integration. This was not new in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, where a fascination with clever and artful dissimulation ran parallel with a deep-rooted fear of miscegenation.

These arguments engage the work of historians, anthropologists, and sociologists who have studied what has been called the amphibiousness or hybridity of foreign merchants, religious converts, and immigrants in general. Much of this scholarship has demonstrated such merchants' resemblance to diasporas in their ability to assimilate into their host communities while maintaining strong ties with their home country and compatriots. Such an approach to assimilation proved particularly useful to these merchants, aiding with the economic integration of various regions critical to Habsburg imperial ambitions. Nevertheless, the vital role of Genoese and other Italian merchants' ability to operate ambiguously in Castilian society has received only superficial treatment in the space between two historiographic perspectives on these communities: one focusing on economic networks and the other on social activities. This project connects the two strands of scholarship, highlighting the ambiguity of the merchants' integration that underwrote their economic prowess as well as the shift in its enactment over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This dissertation contributes to the active fields of scholarship on merchants and identity in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean and Atlantic in three ways. First, on a historiographic level it reevaluates a key case in the larger narratives of European expansion and of the decline of Spanish empire, employing more nuanced theories of identity and the practices of mercantile and other diasporas. Second, it departs from some of the methodologies traditionally applied to this group to better explain their activities. On the one hand, this approach bridges a divide in scholarship on the Genoese case that has separated economic activities from social and cultural ones. On the other, its main points are supported by reference to case studies, building on the prosopographical turn of Spanish historiography that encourages closer scrutiny of the activities of individuals and families. Moreover, by extending the

chronological view of this community across the traditional medieval-early modern divide, the rationale behind the apparent tension between assimilative activities and those that reinforce a separate communal identity emerges more clearly.

The third contribution of this dissertation is the mobilization of a conceptual framework encapsulated in what I have coined *ambiguous integration*.[16] To the modern reader, particularly those familiar with recent scholarly work considering questions of immigration, assimilation, and hybridity, the tensions I have described may seem straight-forwardly explained by understanding identity as fundamentally layered. While this is especially true for certain academic fields and even more recent discussions of Iberian religious minorities and converts to Christianity, such a view has not been applied to the case of the Genoese in Seville and the Atlantic, about which scholarship has remained largely shaped by the more essentialist view of identity. Moreover, it is not at all clear that such a view has made significant inroads outside of academia. The recent rise of protectionist rhetoric across Europe, the United States, and elsewhere fuels my belief that additional work is needed to demonstrate the wider relevance of nuanced views of identity.[17] It is for this reason that I argue it is conceptually useful to preface "integration" with "ambiguous" to draw attention and highlight the ambiguity that is rooted in the very layeredness of identity itself.

Ambiguous integration thus refers to a migrant and their family's assimilation (in varying degrees and forms) into a host society alongside the maintenance of a combination of their

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[16] Catia Brilli at times refers to the identity of naturalized Genoese merchants in eighteenth-century Cádiz as ambiguous. Her work is a useful comparative for the later manifestations of what I call ambiguous integration. See Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*. Ambiguous has also been used in reference to the well-known case of Anselm de Turmeda, who converted from Christianity to Islam but whose approach to conversion and bifurcated identity was not necessarily absolutist. See Gugel, "Moor or Mallorquín? Anselm de Turmeda's ambiguous identity in the Cobles de la divisió del regne de Mallorca."

[17] Not only is this rhetoric espoused by politicians and those ascribing to certain political ideologies, but the view also appears to be quite prevalent among high school educators. For more on this, see Dyrness and Sepúlveda, *Border Thinking*.

previous identity, connections, and networks. The term refers primarily to the identity and practices of individuals and families, though communal identity and institutions were central to providing a framework for the extension of ambiguous integration across time and space.[18] Within the context of early modern merchant practice, ambiguous integration may have been necessary to stay competitive.[19] The utility of this framework lies in its encompassing of various statuses and its ability to put into conversation and explain a variety of activities that otherwise seem incongruent. Highlighting this ambiguity thus encourages a nuanced approach to assimilation and naturalization. The person in question might secure confirmation of certain legal statuses, such as *vecindad* and *naturaleza*, but these are not required for a person to be integrated – a status in the medieval and early modern Iberian world founded primarily on the community's implicit acceptance of the individual and their participation in the privileges and duties of *vecindad* and *naturaleza*, rather than on a particular ceremony or legal recognition reserved for cases involving disputed identification.

Ambiguous integration also incorporates and brings to bear concepts such as *amphibiousness*, *hybridity*, *ambivalence*, and *dissimulation*, while providing for greater variety and combination of these concepts. Amphibiousness has most often been used to describe colonies of merchants, such as the Genoese in various parts of the Mediterranean, and their

[18] For more on shifting from a focus on individual identity to more communal forms of identity formation, among a family-clan for example, see Piera, "Debunking the 'Self' in Self-Fashioning: Communal Fashioning in the Cartagena Clan."

[19] For example, Pierre Gervais has described early modern merchant organization as "rings" that worked to limit the access of outsiders from privileged information and networks of supply and distribution. Not only did foreign merchants need to integrate into a local society to secure the cooperation of local officials and the acceptance of their privileges, but they also would need to actively maintain their position within the merchant "rings" to preserve their access to credit, information, and the right suppliers and distributors. See Gervais, "Mercantile Credit and Trading Rings in the Eighteenth Century"; Gervais, "Early Modern Merchant Strategies and the Historicization of Market Practices". This is also illustrated by the Genoese merchants of Cadiz and Rio de la Plata in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Brilli, "La importancia de hacerse español"; Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*.

ability to operate within them while keeping their ties with the home county, facilitating economic and cultural exchange.[20] The implication that these individuals move between two communities tends to exclude the possibility of integration over generations as well as the experience of those that could not or no longer desired to return to their homeland. Amphibiousness is thus less useful in describing the broader experience of these Iberian Genoese communities. The continued memory of past membership in another community suffices for ambiguous integration; individuals need not physically move between two separate communities. The concepts of hybridity and layeredness are also central to the framework of ambiguous integration. This framework incorporates an understanding that identity, in general, is hybrid and layered to varying degrees. While hybridity is often considered with regard to culture (i.e. syncretism), ambiguous integration focuses the discussion of hybridity on social identity and the practices that underpin it. Reconsidering the Genoese merchants of Seville and the Atlantic within the framework of ambiguous integration also shows how hybrid and layered identities, more often considered the product of cross-cultural and colonial entanglements, were also integral to facilitating these encounters by supporting the imperial ambitions of the Habsburg monarchy.

The term ambivalence, as well as the attendant concepts of the third space and liminality, commonly used in post-colonial scholarship, are also implicated in this conceptual framework.[21] The ambiguity characterizing integration may have been the result of some members of the

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[20] On the one hand, amphibiousness was a favored approach taken by travelers and merchants in the Mediterranean and elsewhere which underpinned cross-cultural exchange. See Curtin, "Trade Diasporas and Cross-Cultural Trade"; Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*. See also the modifications presented by Chaudhuri to the category of "trade diaspora" and it merchants. These approaches were not limited to long-distance trade but can be found among merchants of all kinds. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean*.

[21] For more on the concepts of ambivalence, the third space, and hybridity, see Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*. For more on liminality as a step in a larger, at times protracted, process of passing from one group to another, see Turner, *The Ritual Process*.

community pushing back against the attempts of the host society to impose assimilation along certain criteria, creating a hybrid or layered identity in a third space.[22] Ambivalence might thus help to explain certain forms of ambiguity, though cases where this motivation is not as apparent – potentially as a result of the opacity of surviving sources – should not necessarily be discussed separately as a result. It is because of the greater implication of motivation behind the term ambivalence, that I will instead use liminal to describe practices that appear ambivalent. The issue of motivations is in general left open within the framework of ambiguous integration in order to discuss as many of the varied expressions of the integration of these migrant communities as connected experiences. It is for this reason that activities are more often referred to as practices as opposed to strategies throughout this dissertation, leaving room for a variety in degrees of agency and premeditation.[23] Integration into local society that is ambiguous might thus have been consciously pursued, the unconscious byproduct of long-term residence, or a mixture of the two. Lastly, dissimulation of foreign identity and activities that shift attention to facets of identity beyond that of naturalized foreigner might also have been utilized to varying degrees and in response to changing pressures and circumstances in ways that subsumed more liminal styles of ambiguous integration. These historiographic, methodological, and theoretical interventions are further elaborated in the following two sections.

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[22] The case of Mexican Americans in twentieth century Los Angeles is illustrative. Utilizing these concepts to look at the Mexican American community in twentieth century Los Angeles, George Sanchez found a deep-rooted ambivalence toward the efforts of others in their adoptive community and their home country to assimilate them, claim them, and define them as either American or Mexican. Instead, they developed hybrid cultural forms and identities: they became Mexican-American. See Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*.

[23] My understanding of practice is rooted in the concept of the habitus elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu and discussed in greater depth below. A further consideration would be to utilize the term "tactic," which Michel de Certeau defines in contrast to "strategy" as "an art of the weak" utilized in response to the environments defined by the strategy of those in power. Nevertheless, I consider tactic to refer to activities undertaken with a greater extent of premeditation than a practice, which may be undertaken without conscious thought. See Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 37.

Naturaleza and *Vecindad*: Communities, Foreigners, and Assimilation

Investigating foreigners (*extranjeros*) in the medieval and early modern periods is complicated by the diffuse meaning of the term, which could be applied to anyone considered to be from outside the community in question. Foreignness could be applied to someone from another principality whose difference may or may not also be reflected in ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and other differences.[24] For example, an Aragonese person was considered a foreigner in Castile even after the joining of the crowns. Even within the kingdom, denizens (*vecinos*) of neighboring towns could be considered foreigners that needed to be excluded from enjoyment of the privileges of full members and natives of that local community.[25] In this dissertation, foreign merchants are those whose status as native or foreigner had the potential of being questioned by others in their adoptive communities, either as a result of their own juridical and linguistic or ethnic identity or that of their ancestors.

The juridical terms intended to clarify these positions (*vecino, estante, natural, extranjero,* etc.) cannot be taken alone as indicative of an individual's identity.[26] Conventions of identification could change depending on the type of document being produced and its attending circumstances.[27] For example, the texts discussed in this dissertation at times use broader terms to identify groups with origins in the Italian peninsula; a usage that is not found in notarial registers. With the exception of the term *Italiano,* most of the identifications correspond to the

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[24] For more on this, see the discussions of the term *extranjero* in Recio Morales, "Los extranjeros y la historiografía modernista"; Amelang, "Cities and Foreigners"; Crailsheim, *The Spanish Connection,* esp. Introduction. Rubin, *Cities of Strangers*, chap. 1; Lambert and Ormrod, "The State and the Immigrant."

[25] For the importance of *vecindad* in establishing foreignness, see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003.

[26] Again, the work of Tamar Herzog is foundational: Herzog, "Naturales y extranjeros: sobre la construcción de categorías en el mundo hispánico"; Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003. See also Álvarez-Valdés y Valdés, *La Extranjería en la Historia del Derecho Español*.

[27] Groebner, *Who Are You?*

major polities of the peninsula, including Naples, Milan, Florence, Pisa, Venice, and Genoa.[28] Moreover, foreign identity was further complicated by changing strategies among individuals and families who at times may have been forced to accept one category over another, but who also might move between these strata depending on the circumstance, the relative benefits of either at any given moment, and the acquiescence of the local community and its officials. Even though they are not indicative of an individual's identity in isolation, these categories still shaped practice and the enactment of identity on the ground to some extent. It is thus necessary to outline what they were conceived as representing and why recognition of these statuses would be beneficial.

Vecinos were incorporated members of a particular community (whether a city, town, or village). Their membership came with a number of privileges such as access to communal lands and some participation in local governance. It also involved some obligations, including local taxes and military service on behalf of the community. *Vecindad* within an Iberian community was closely linked to claims of *naturaleza*, both of which turned on the ability of the individual to convince their neighbors and, if necessary, public officials that they were sufficiently integrated and, most importantly, loyal to their adoptive community. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that the need to clearly differentiate foreigners from natives, or *naturales*, emerged from the struggles of Castilians as early as the late thirteenth century to restrict the access of foreign vassals to ecclesiastical benefices and later the government positions produced by

[28] The term Italian is utilized for convenience throughout the following chapters to group together a larger number of individuals for comparative analysis. While sources sometimes use the term at the end of the period discussed, these individuals were often identified, and seem to have identified themselves, by the specific political entity from which they or their families originated. The term thus reflects my own usage and not that of contemporaries, unless otherwise indicated.

bureaucratic growth.[29] This was, in effect, a competition over resources, where secular and ecclesiastical offices provided economic and social benefits, and this competition was exacerbated as the monarchy became increasingly composite.

One of the earliest elaborations of the requirements of *naturaleza* can be found in the *Siete Partidas*, a law code commissioned by Alfonso X of Castile and Leon (1252 - 1284). These laws distinguished ten different ways *naturaleza* could be acquired, including birth, "vassalage; nurture (*crianza*); knighthood; marriage; inheritance; rescue from captivity; death or dishonor; emancipation; conversion; and ten years' residence."[30] The *Siete Partidas* were largely ignored for centuries in most cases, and it failed to become the standard law of the realm that it had been intended to be. Its focus on residence and loyalty, however, continued to resonate in later compilations and royal decrees. Royal decrees in 1561 had stipulated that the right to trade with the Canaries and the Caribbean required *naturaleza*, proven by a residence of more than ten years and marriage to a native of the Iberian Peninsula, the Canaries, or the Indies.[31] Similar requirements were included in the 1565 *Recopilación de Castilla*, but it added a reference to domicile (*domicilio*), which was in many ways analogous to *vecindad*. It also added a stipulation that birth in the territory required descent from a native father to confer the status of *natural*. In 1620, a royal decree stipulated that all children born in Spanish territory to foreigners were granted *naturaleza*, eliminating the earlier reference to descent from a native.[32] Nevertheless, by 1645 Philip IV (1621 - 1665) decided that all of the *naturalezas* that had been granted to

[29] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 68–69. For the fourteenth century manifestation of this, see also Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, esp. 637-640.

[30] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 68. See also Burns, *Las Siete Partidas*.

[31] Gil-Bermejo García, "Naturalizaciones de italianos en Andalucía," 179.

[32] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 69–71.

foreigners to permit them to trade with the Indies should be revoked and he placed a moratorium on any additional grants.[33] This produced a significant response form merchants asking for exemptions from the revocation. Eventually, Philip capitulated and allowed the process to continue as it had before.

Criteria for naturalization was thus continually rehashed, but the fundamental belief that *naturaleza* was derived from a desire to take up or maintain permanent residence in Spanish territory and a sense of loyalty to the Spanish community undergirded the specific legal requirements, meaning that enough evidence of such loyalty could override the specific requirements.[34] This is well-illustrated by the arguments presented in a copy of the petition for *vecindad* (and by extension, his *naturaleza*) which the Genoese merchant Juan Bautista Pinelo included in the dossier intended to secure approval for his travel to New Spain for a period of three years. In response to the negative arguments of the city council, Pinelo stated that he should be admitted as a *vecino* because:

> it has been twenty years and more that I have lived in this city as a married man and I have houses and lots in its territory … and because according to the law, through a ten-year residency in a place with an occupied house (*casa poblada*), *vecindad* and domicile (*domicilio*) is won … and although I am of the Genoese nation, I ought not to be prevented from the aforesaid *vecindad* according to the laws that were promulgated in Toro … which [contends that] a person should be admitted as a *vecino* of the city if they live in its territory, so long as they wish to be a *vecino*, marrying the daughter of a *vecino* originally from the city… for my part, I am married to a daughter of a *vecino* originally [from the city], with houses and rural property (*heredamientos*) [in it] and having lived [here] for so long that it induces *naturaleza*.[35]

[33] AGI, Indiferente, 436. L. 12, f. 385-387

[34] This may have been why the Genoese merchant Bernaldo Grimaldo received a confirmation of his naturaleza, even though he had failed to meet the requirements that had been stipulated earlier. AGI, Indiferente, 418, L. 2, f. 174v-175r. See also Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 67–69, 72–73.

[35] AGI, Indiferente, 2055, N. 33.

The importance placed on integration into local communities as proof of naturalization often made the rights of *naturaleza* "independent of formal declarations and of formal circumstances, such as birth and descent."[36] These rights were most often granted by the community's complicit acceptance of an individual's use of the privileges of a native, rather than being the result of a legal proceeding or naturalization ceremony. Such formal recognition of status was reserved for when *vecindad* and *naturaleza* in a particular case was called into question by neighbors or local officials.[37] A person's naturalization was only scrutinized in specific circumstances, most often when the person claimed a certain privilege, sought an office restricted to natives, attempted to avoid a duty that was expected of natives, or transgressed social norms and customs.[38] The need to identify by one category or another could also be mobilized by competitors, especially in the Americas where trade was restricted to natives, or if an ecclesiastic or public office was at stake.[39] In this way, the perception of foreign merchants by their local communities affected their ability to obtain important positions in the secular or ecclesiastical bureaucracy or access the highly lucrative American trade.

Moreover, Iberian communities and officials had a proclivity to limit "natural processes of integration" because they judged individual behavior through a constructed image of groups that "'it was well known,' behaved in certain ways."[40] For example, many merchants were denied formal recognition of their *naturaleza* because merchants in general were perceived as

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[36] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 75.

[37] Ibid., 12.

[38] For a parallel view on the role of percived transgression in excluding those labled as foreigners from the privileges of naturalization in sixteenth century Venice, see Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*.

[39] Herzog, "Naturales y extranjeros: sobre la construcción de categorías en el mundo hispánico."

[40] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 120.

temporary residents who only lived in the Spanish kingdoms as long as they had business there, and thus did not actually desire to become permanent members of the Spanish community of natives. To take another example from the *vecindad* suit of Juan Bautista Pinelo, the city council of Seville argued against his claim by asserting that "it is notoriously known that he is a Genoese, here only to undertake the business of the Genoese … and as a result and in conformity with the laws of these kingdoms and the ordinances of the city no foreigner to the city can be a *vecino* and native of them, nor have *naturaleza* from his majesty in the city."[41] Herzog's work also reveals the importance of mercantile agencies, such as the merchant guild of Seville and the House of Trade (*Casa de Contratación*), in pressuring stricter vetting of foreign merchants' integration and eligibility for trade with the Americas.[42] Personal rivalries and competition played an important role in the petitions for naturalization of foreign merchants. Whether in the arguments of those who questioned an individual's naturalization or the preemptive arguments presented by the petitioners, the pejorative image of the Genoese and other Italian merchants in sixteenth-century Iberian society often loomed large.

Colony or Diaspora? The Framing of a Community

Many types of foreigners could be found in the Iberian Peninsula. From the point of view of the Christians living there, there were of course the Muslim and Jewish populations, which were to a large extent separated out by the institutional structure of *aljamas* and their religious, ethnic, and cultural differences – though this separation was never absolute. Markers of difference varied in their importance among different groups over time. For example, the

[41] AGI, Indiferente, 2055, N. 33. "es notorio que es genoves aquí solo por hacer negocios de genoveses… e pues conforme a las leyes destos reinos y governanças desta çibdad ningund estrangero dello puede ser vezino ni natural dellos ni tener naturaleza de su magestad en la çibdad."

[42] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 96–99.

consumption of a broad culture of art, textiles, and architectural motifs across religious boundaries among elites was widespread.[43] There were also sizeable groups of artists and artisans who contributed, for example, to the building of Romanesque cathedrals along the pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela and to the art that filled these buildings.[44] The proximity of the peninsula to the areas comprised by modern France and Italy contributed to the continual presence of seasonal and more long-term immigrants from these places. Seasonal laborers traveled annually from the Midi region of France to work the fields in Northern Spain, while many Genoese mariners found their way to Iberian ports and ships.[45] Some writers blamed an influx of foreigners for the visible rise in paupers, petty criminals, and highwaymen, even attributing such an origin to some of the famous rogues or *pícaros* of Golden Age literature.[46] While there were certainly people of foreign origin who engaged in criminal activity, such as a Genoese man who was executed for murdering the night-guard and robbing the royal chapel of the cathedral of Seville in 1480, the rise in the destitute and highwaymen cannot be wholly attributed to foreigners.[47] Lastly, there was always the presence of foreign merchants from throughout Europe and the Mediterranean in the ports of the peninsula, with some also making

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[43] This has also been noted as the case among Genoese and Spanish elites in the collected essays in Colomer, *España y Génova*.

[44] García Luján, "Mercaderes y artesanos italianos en Córdoba (1466-1538)"; Aparici Martí, Igual Luis, and Navarro Espinach, "Los inmigrantes y sus formas de inserción social en el sistema urbano del Reino de Valencia (siglos XIV-XVI)"; Rubin, *Cities of Strangers*. See also the case of the Florentín brothers, Sanson and Nicolas, who were painters active in Avila and Seville. Fitz-James Stuart, *Catálogo histórico y bibliográfico de la Exposición Internacional de Barcelona (1929-1930)*. I am grateful to Teofilo F. Ruiz for this reference.

[45] Begoña Villar García, "La burguesía de origen extranjero en la España del siglo XVIII," 438; Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*; Herrero Sánchez, "Foreign Communities in the Cities of the Catholic Monarchy."

[46] For some examples of false pilgrims that treat Spain as "their Indies" and foreign beggars, see Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha, II*.

[47] AHPS, Protocolos, 2154, f. 293. Also cited in: Bono and Ungueti-Bono, *Los protocolos sevillanos de la época del descubrimiento*. Yet, it is more likely that foreigners meant those not originally from the city, as seems to have often the case when discussing the "foreign poor". See Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*; Rubin, *Cities of Strangers*.

their way into the interior.[48] Of all of these, merchants are those identified as foreigners who appear most in the surviving documentation.

Their establishment of institutions for mutual aid and the resolution of internal disputes, founded on royal privileges, is one of the reasons Genoese merchants in particular are among the most visible in the surviving sources.[49] By the middle of the seventeenth century, most groups of foreign merchants originating from European polities (the Flemish, Dutch, French, English, etc.) had obtained a similar set of privileges.[50] These included the establishment of a consulate with some jurisdictional independence, guarantees of safe conduct, and even some beneficial tax rates. Many of these groups also secured rights to establish their own national confraternities, chapels, or even churches, which could be found throughout the peninsula, from country hermitages and monasteries to parishes and cathedral chapels.[51] Although there had been French, Flemish, and other merchants in the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages, most of these groups did not receive these kinds of institutional privileges until the end of the sixteenth century.[52] In contrast, many Italian polities (the Genoese foremost among them) secured these privileges as early as the thirteenth century. Thus, while similar strategies may have been used, the Genoese

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[48] For example: Igual Luis, "Valencia y Sevilla en el Sistema Económico Genovés de finales del siglo XV"; Bello Leon, *Extranjeros en Castilla (1474-1501)*; Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain*, esp. 283, 419-422.

[49] This institutional framework was not replicated to the same extent in the Americas, requiring a more amorphous network. See the example provided by the Genoese merchants in Peru in Almorza Hidalgo, "El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú, 1580-1640."

[50] Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, 58–67. See also Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*, esp. 63-65.

[51] Further discussion of these chapels can be found in Chapter 1. For some general orientation, see Morand, "La nación nómada, los genoveses en Cádiz"; Castillo Utrilla, "Capillas de las Naciones"; Bartolomei, "Identidad e integración de los comerciantes extranjeros en la Europa moderna. La colonia francesa de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII"; Crespo Solana, "Trusteeship and Cooperation in the Flemish Merchants Community in Cádiz"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)". For a similar approach to the Genoese in Spanish Naples, see Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean*.

[52] Begoña Villar García, "La burguesía de origen extranjero en la España del siglo XVIII"; Crailsheim, *The Spanish Connection*.

present a somewhat unique case given their long-term presence and early institutional infrastructure.

There were a number of activities alongside those rooted in their privileges that aided in integration and naturalization in the Spanish kingdoms.[53] One method was through military service and participation in the *reconquista* writ large, such as the case of the Bocanegra (Boccanegra) and Zaccaria families of admirals who were ennobled and founded Andalusian seigniorial dynasties.[54] Another route of integration included bureaucratic service to the monarchy or holding offices in local government or the Church.[55] Assimilation was also possible through protracted commercial relationships (sometimes resulting in intermarriage), the commissioning of artistic works, and through participation in public rituals and social and religious institutions.[56] Germinating from questions about the nature of these business relationships, these merchants' position in Iberian economic networks, and their relationship to the larger "Genoese economic system" and its geographical hierarchies, scholars have debated whether the Genoese and other merchant communities should be categorized as *colonies*, *nations*, or *diasporas*. Such choices are often implicated in modern nationalist and political sympathies and have enduring implications for how these merchants' activities are framed and understood.

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[53] Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV."

[54] Díaz González and Calderón Ortega, "Una familia genovesa al servicio de los reyes de Castilla"; Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV"; Rohan, "Outsourcing the Colonial Project: The Genoese Role in Iberian Expansion."

[55] Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV"; Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*; Dadson, *The Genoese in Spain*.

[56] For some examples of work exploring these approaches, see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003; Girón Pascual, "Exogamia, endogamia e ilegitimidad"; De Maria, *Becoming Venetian*; García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, "Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna: Fundaciones, redes asistenciales y formas de sociabilidad."

Characterizing Italian merchants in Iberia as a colony emphasized their extraction of goods from Seville and their temporary presence in the city. This approach often assumed an imbalance of power rooted in surplus extraction, in which the economies of Castile and other Iberian kingdoms were understood to be colonized and directed to the economic benefit of Italian merchants and polities. This characterization, even described as evocative of fascist ideology, prioritized certain nationalist views of the preeminence of Italian economic institutions (the *commenda*, the letter of exchange, double-entry accounting, etc.) in creating the foundation for Iberian expansion in the Atlantic and elsewhere.[57] Thus, the success of Spain and Portugal in colonization was attributed to their "opportunity to make use of the experience gathered by the Italians and above all the Genoese in the technique of commerce in general, as well as especially in the field of colonial economy . . . [since] Italy was the only really colonizing nation during the middle ages."[58] Though most widespread in post-war historiography until the mid-1980s, the influence of this approach has persisted.[59] Moreover, many scholars assumed that immigrants who naturalized increasingly broke ties with their homelands as they incorporated into their new communities, which fails to capture the complexity of these transnational groups.[60] Recent

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[57] For a discussion of the colony-nation debate, see González Arévalo, "Presencia Diferencial Italiana en el sur de la Península Ibérica en la Baja Edad Media: Estado de la Cuestión y Propuestas de Investigación," 177–79.

[58] Verlinden does temper this nationalist view at the end of his article, saying "there exists no Italian, nor Spanish, nor Portuguese history of such evolution; there is only the general western one." Verlinden, "Italian Influence in Iberian Colonization," 199, 211. This framework can also be found in many other works. As just some examples: Hicks, *A Theory of Economic History*; Rich and Wilson, *The Cambridge Economic History*, 4:esp. 490-491; Mauro, "Merchant Communities 1350-1750", but also underlying in general the other collected essays in Tracy, *The Rise of Merchant Empires*; Tracy, *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires*. For a short consideration of the early modern merchant and the problems of this view, see also the introduction of Subrahmanyam, *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450–1800*.

[59] For example, this underlies a good deal of Ruth Pike's work on the Genoese in Seville, which has in turn had a considerable influence on Anglo-American scholarship looking at the Genoese. As one recent example of this influence, see Michael Crawford's evaluation of Genoese suits for hidalguía largely working through Pike's framework. Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*.

[60] Often associated with the highly influential model in Handlin, *The Uprooted*. See also Bartolomei, "La naturalización de los comerciantes franceses de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX."

studies concerning other foreign groups residing in the Spanish kingdoms provide a model for revisiting the Italians living in Seville and the Atlantic.[61] Approaching these communities of Italian merchants as a transnational diaspora invites greater consideration of their position and role in these communities. Beginning in the 1980s, Spanish scholarship increasingly adopted prosopographic methods and redirected attention to particular families and case studies with attention to their organization as a mercantile *nación* represented by a consul.[62] This increased exploration of these nation-consulates' activities helped pave the way for their conceptualization as a mercantile diaspora.[63] Evaluating the Genoese and other Italians in this way gives a more holistic picture of their activities and position in local society than can be found in previous scholarship.

This has been done to some extent for Genoese communities elsewhere in the Mediterranean and is increasingly the most-utilized approach of scholars working on other groups of foreign merchants in the Iberian Mediterranean and Atlantic.[64] In particular, the presence of Genoese merchants in Seville for centuries, their economic prowess, and their

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[61] Some examples of this shift inculude: González Beltrán, "Extranjeros en el siglo XVIII"; Díaz Blanco and Fernández Chaves, "Una élite en la sombra"; Crespo Solana, "Trusteeship and Cooperation in the Flemish Merchants Community in Cádiz"; Studnicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea*. One of the exceptions that engages with the Genoese case is Ben Yessef Garfia, "Una familia genovesa entre la república y la monarquía hispánica."

[62] Some examples: Collado Villalta, "La Nación Genovesa en la Sevilla de la Carrera de Indias: declive mercantil y perdida de la autonomía consular"; Albini, "Famiglie piacentine nella societa spagnola e portoghese dei secoli XIV e XV: Prime indagini"; Iglesias Núñez, "Prácticas mercantiles y estrategias familiares de los genoveses"; Alonso García, "Una nación, diferentes familias, múltiples redes. Genoveses en Castilla a principios de la Edad Moderna"; Soria Mesa, "Poder local y estrategias matrimoniales: Los Genoveses en el Reino de Granada (ss. XVI y XVII)"; Ben Yessef Garfia, "Lazos sociales, estrategias de linaje e identidad 'nacional' en el siglo XVII"; Girón Pascual, "Exogamia, endogamia e ilegitimidad."

[63] Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 8–10, 246–47. A similar view of the Genoese can be found in Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 105–16; Ben Yessef Garfia, "Una familia genovesa entre la república y la monarquía hispánica."

[64] For the application of this to the Genoese, see Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, 57; Dauverd, "Genoese and Catalans"; Dauverd, "Cultivating Differences". For more on diaspora, see Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse."

privileges within Castile – unmatched by other merchants until the middle of the seventeenth century – all contributed to their important role in Atlantic trade and colonizing activities. Scholars sometimes allude to these merchants in general terms as go-betweens, adept at assimilating and thus integrating markets. This dissertation brings such insights to bear on these merchants' activities in Castile and the Atlantic, their most lucrative field of operations at the transition between the medieval and early modern periods. It also goes further to demonstrate the utility of civic religious activities and other institutions in underpinning their ambiguous integration, as well as the forces spurring the transformation of that integration and its subsequent appearance over the course of the sixteenth century.

Claims and Perceptions: Neighbors, Officials, and Identity

Ambiguous integration is further informed by recent work on identity and the social and political limits on the multivalent, performative, and layered ways it is expressed. Identity is "irreducible to social roles or group affiliations alone" and individuals can "occupy a number of more or less compatible subject-positions, [or identities.]"[65] This definition of identity raises two of the most salient theoretical questions underlying this dissertation. There has been an over-emphasis on legal categories and group affiliations for identifying individuals, which is problematic since these categories are mutable. In themselves these categories cannot capture the

[65] Dominick LaCapra even went so far as to refrain from using the term identity at all, instead using the concept of subject-position drawn from critical speech theory. I will continue to utilize the term identity, on the one had to avoid excessive use of jargon, but also because I do not agree with LaCapra that the term is too fraught to be useful. While identity is not a fixed term, I find it is still useful as a larger category as long as it is not taken in an essentializing way. LaCapra, *History and Reading*. My view of identity follows that utilized by Andrea Dyrness and Enrique Sepúlveda in reference to the identity of diasporic Mexican youth. Their work continues to make reference to identity but in a way that is attentive to the contributions of terms like subject-position. "To clarify, I see Mexican identity not as a fixed and static identity but as a subject position that is socioculturally produced, complex, and fluid, and always in the making, multivocal, and perspectival." Dyrness and Sepúlveda, *Border Thinking*.

essentially layered nature of identity.[66] The work of numerous scholars on the intersection of legal categories, culture, and practice likewise directs attention to the importance of vetting and negotiation at the individual and local institutional level rather than a misplaced focus on the role of the state and its bureaucracy in labeling people.[67] Scholars have also paid increasing attention to the performative nature of identity, an aspect rooted in its contestable nature that requires that the community acquiesce to some extent in order for the claims of an individual to be recognized. That is not to say that an individual is constantly making conscious decisions and controlling every aspect in their self-fashioning.[68] Rather, individuals occupy a *habitus*, or "systems of durable, transposable dispositions ... principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them."[69] The *habitus* thus admits performativity without requiring active, conscious shaping at all times.

These issues are of particular importance for any work looking at questions of identity in the long-sixteenth century from an Iberian perspective.[70] During this period, Europeans in

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[66] See Appiah, *The Lies That Bind*. See also the incisive critique of "the singularist view of identity," in Pulido Serrano, "Plural Identities". Pulido Serrano's critique was developed through engagement with Sen, *Identity & Violence*.

[67] As just some examples, see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003; Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*; Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*.

[68] For more on the often-quoted term "self-fashioning," see Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*. For recent critiques and modifications of the concept, see Subrahmanyam, *Three Ways to Be Alien*; and the essays in Delbrugge, *Self-Fashioning and Assumptions of Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, especially Piera, "Debunking the 'Self' in Self-Fashioning: Communal Fashioning in the Cartagena Clan"; and Gugel, "Moor or Mallorquín? Anselm de Turmeda's ambiguous identity in the Cobles de la divisió del regne de Mallorca."

[69] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, esp. 53.

[70] The work on conversos and Sephardic Jews has been particularly innovative in its attention to the potential of identity to be plural and mutable. The literature is vast; these works provide some general orientation: Pulido Serrano, "Plural Identities"; Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*; Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation*; Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*.

general were increasingly concerned with disciplining individuals through a variety of methods with the goal of creating ever more ideal communities.[71] Within Iberia, these methods "for promoting social order, fixity, and hierarchy" in the face of "social anxieties over conversion, shifting community boundaries, and religious loyalties" included: proselytizing, education, a growing focus on lineage, the institutional oversight provided by a permanent state-backed Inquisition, and expulsions.[72] These anxieties reached a crux in the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Carranza trial fanned fears of Lutheranism, in addition to the rebellions and forced conversion of the Moriscos and the arrival of large numbers of Portuguese *conversos* after Philip II's succession to the Portuguese crown.[73] This was also a period of increasing economic and political distress, a constellation of factors that have been analyzed as part of the ongoing debate on Spanish decline in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century.[74] Moreover, attempts to vet those who travelled to the Americas proliferated and social and legal categories like *naturaleza*, nobility (*hidalguía*), and blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*) were increasingly elaborated and implemented as a result of the expansion of vetting.

While individual identities cannot be reduced to these invented legal categories, it is nonetheless clear that they "were no less effective at shaping social practices, categories of identity, and self-perceptions."[75] The complicated nature of these notions was also recognized by contemporaries, particularly with regard to the Galenic theories of the fundamental mutability of

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[71] Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity*; Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*; Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*.

[72] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 26.

[73] For more on the general atmosphere of the second half of the sixteenth century, see Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*; Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*; Fuchs, *Passing for Spain*.

[74] For general orientation, see Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain*.

[75] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 61. See also the collected essays in Braun and Pérez-Magallón, *The Transatlantic Hispanic Baroque*; Appiah, *The Lies That Bind*.

bodies and the effects of change in climate or practice on the person's essence and even physical appearance.[76] They were also extensively reflected in the broader preoccupation in the period with the potential incongruity of external appearance and internal reality.[77] It is for all of these reasons that as the sixteenth century progressed, difference was increasingly marked through a mix of cultural presentation, practice, and claims of descent, even though these approaches were never able to attain the full confidence of certainty.

In its argument concerning the effects of anti-foreigner discourse on the shape of ambiguous integration, this dissertation refocuses methodological attention to the literary, learned, and political discourses alongside the social and legal claims made by these merchants. The latter are collected through a modified prosopographical approach composed of case studies that trace these claims within family groups across generations and the Atlantic. The majority of these cases are drawn from documents that preserve the self-representation of these merchants within a specific context and for a particular purpose. The self-reflective prefaces provided by the individual in suits for *vecindad, naturaleza, hidalguía, limpieza de sangre*, and licenses to travel to the Americas provide an opportunity to explore the kind of "strategic calculation tending to perform in a conscious mode the operation that the *habitus* performs quite differently."[78] This reading of self-representational prefaces can also be extended to a "reading" of funerary monuments that were intended to influence the memory of a family beyond the lifetime of the deceased. A number of these sources also provide witness testimony that offers

[76] There is a considerable body of literature on this, for orientation see Hill, "Towards a Constructionist Essentialism: Critical Race Studies and the Baroque"; Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador*.

[77] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 76. For a broader context of this concern, see the essays collected in Fuchs and Garcia-Arenal, *Quest for Certainty in Early Modern Europe*.

[78] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 53.

evidence of the reception of the reputation and practices produced in a much less scripted way as a product of these merchants' *habitus*.

The Genoese in Iberia: A Special Case

Seville had an especially complex relationship with its Genoese community, which had maintained a presence in the city since at least the time of its conquest in the thirteenth century, if not before –a situation with some parallels in the nearby cities of Granada and Cadiz.[79] The Genoese formed one of the largest and most well-established communities of foreign merchants in the city. Genoese men were named in the *repartimiento* of the city by Fernando III of Castile (r. 1230 - 1252).[80] Nevertheless, the community remained somewhat stable at around 150 people until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the population of Genoese origin increased significantly to over 430 merchants.[81] By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Flemish appeared to have supplanted the Genoese as the largest group of non-naturalized merchants. Some scholars speculate that this decline was a result of a Genoese ability to naturalize and assimilate.[82] It may also have been connected to a royal privilege granted in 1524, which allowed Genoese merchants to trade with Castilian ports with the same prerogatives as natives which

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[79] For overviews of the Genoese presence in Seville, see Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*; Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV"; González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)". For an extensive look at the Genoese presence in Granada just after its re-conquest in 1492, see Girón Pascual, "Las Indias de Génova". For the Genoese in Cadiz, see Morand, "La nación nómada, los genoveses en Cádiz"; Brilli, "Mercaderes genoveses en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII. Crisis y reajuste de una simbiosis secular."

[80] González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)."

[81] Ibid.; See also the estimates in: Collantes de Terán Sánchez, *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media*; Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*; Aranda Bernal, "Sevilla y los negocios de la mar: Recursos que financiaron la arquitectura y el arte a fines del siglo XV," 12.

[82] For the Flemish and French, see Crailsheim, *The Spanish Connection*; Díaz Blanco and Fernández Chaves, "Una élite en la sombra"; Bartolomei, "Identidad e integración de los comerciantes extranjeros en la Europa moderna. La colonia francesa de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII". For the Portuguese case, see Pulido Serrano, "Procesos de integración y asimilación: El caso de los portugueses en España durante la Edad Moderna."

could make them less visible in later suits over the privileges of foreign merchants resident in Seville.[83] Both naturalization and the 1524 privileges would have likely required less intervention by the consulate, thereby limiting its general prestige and utility for non-naturalized merchants. The growing pressure of the negative Genoese image and the end of their prominence as royal bankers seems to have also contributed to the weakening of the Genoese consulate.[84] These privileges could not always be enforced at all levels of the bureaucracy, even with nominal royal backing. Officials could easily misplace royal instructions and find myriad ways to impede those they were unwilling to accommodate.[85] Despite all this, the Genoese did not simply disappear from the Spanish kingdoms and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw extensive migrations to Cadiz and Spanish America.[86] Rather, they leaned on dissimulation in order to protect their interests in a society increasingly suspicious of foreigners. That distrust extended to the point of adding the renunciation of foreign ties and involvement with the community's consulate as a stipulation for naturalization in the eighteenth century, though there are indications this expectation had been building before its inclusion in the legal statutes from at least the end of the sixteenth century.

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[83] Alonso García, "Genoveses en la Corte: Poder financiero y administración en tiempos de Carlos V," 254.

[84] This was already recognized by Castilian observers in the sixteenth century. Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, fols. 244–246. For more on the decline of the consulate, see Collado Villalta, "La Nación Genovesa en la Sevilla de la Carrera de Indias: declive mercantil y perdida de la autonomía consular"; González Arce, "El Consulado Genovés de Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*.

[85] Díaz Blanco and Fernández Chaves, "Una élite en la sombra". The opposite could also be true and Genoese merchants living in Cadiz or Rio de la Plata during the eighteenth century might also find many bureaucrats willing to disregard royal decrees to the contrary and accommodate them because of their utility for the economic health of the community. See Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*.

[86] Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*. In the seventeenth century, Spanish officials also restricted foreigners from going back and forth in their claims, requiring them to make a binding decision on whether they wanted to naturalize or remain as foreigners. See Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003.

The Genoese were involved in the Iberian Peninsula's most lucrative enterprises, from supplying wheat in times of famine to exporting Sevillian olive oil, gold, and Castile's famed merino wool.[87] They were also well-positioned to capitalize on Iberian expansion on the peninsula, as well as into North Africa (in places like Oran) and the Atlantic (with the conquest of the Canary Islands); lending considerable sums and supplies to the conquerors (*conquistadors*) and setting up sugar production utilizing slave labor.[88] These merchants also took on a similar role in the conquest and settlement of the Caribbean and, to a lesser extent, Central and South America.[89] In addition to these, the Genoese also became influential in royal finance from the end of the reign of Charles V until the beginning of the seventeenth century, by which time they had weathered a number of royal bankruptcies.[90] In addition to these economic activities, the Genoese also played an important role in the navies of Iberian polities, though to a lesser extent for the Crown of Aragon. They led important naval contingents and some even became hereditary admirals, such as the Bocanegra (Boccanegra) in Castile and the Pessagno in Portugal.[91] Genoese military and economic support of Castilian monarchs facilitated their procurement of a collection of privileges just after the conquest of Seville – in which they had

[87] González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)"; Remie-Constable, "Genoa and Spain in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries."

[88] Aznar Vallejo, *La integración de las islas Canarias en la Corona de Castilla (1478-1526)*; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media*; Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

[89] Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World.*. For more on Genoese conquistadors as well as the many artisanal Genoese resident early in the sixteenth century Americas, see Sarabia Viejo, "Presencia italiana en Nueva España y su conexión Sevillana (1520-1575)."

[90] The literature on the Genoese as royal bankers is extensive. For orientation see Carande, *La Hacienda Real de Castilla*; Carlos Morales, "La Hacienda Real de Castilla y la Revolución Financiera de los Genoveses (1560-1575)"; Álvarez Nogal and Chamley, "Debt Policy under Constraints."

[91] Díaz González and Calderón Ortega, "Una familia genovesa al servicio de los reyes de Castilla"; Rohan, "Outsourcing the Colonial Project: The Genoese Role in Iberian Expansion," 17–18.

also played a crucial part – which in turn further advanced their economic activities in the peninsula.[92]

These early privileges included a Genoese quarter (*barrio*) in the city and a combination hostelry, market, and warehouse which later became their auction house (*lonja*).[93] They also secured exclusive access to a church and their own jurisdiction over disputes arising among themselves, to be adjudicated by two consuls selected by the community and who were to be approved by the monarch.[94] These consuls served in general as representatives of the Genoese community in Seville, or nation (*nación*), and communicated often with the governments of Genoa.[95] Later monarchs continued to reconfirm and add to these privileges, including granting safe conduct throughout the Spanish kingdoms and beneficial tax rates and duties.[96] Although they were repeatedly granted the exclusive use of their neighborhood, with various monarchs issuing decrees that they be permitted to buy all the properties there, it never became exclusively or even majority Genoese. Rather, Genoese merchants could be found throughout the city.[97] This is not too surprising, given that the church which they took on as their own was the hermitage of

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[92] González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; Álvarez, *El Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes genoveses establecidos en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XVI).*

[93] For more on the fondaco, see Remie-Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*.

[94] Álvarez, *El Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes genoveses establecidos en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XVI).*

[95] Similar uses of the term nación or nationis could be found for other merchant communities represented by consuls, as well as groups at universities in the medieval and early modern periods. My own use of "national" or "nation" follows the contemporary usage of these terms "i.e. as an articulation of certain communities originating from the same geographical area in the form of consulates, exclusive brotherhoods, or other types of body." See Herrero Sánchez, "Foreign Communities in the Cities of the Catholic Monarchy"; García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, "Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna: Fundaciones, redes asistenciales y formas de sociabilidad."

[96] González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; Álvarez, *El Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes genoveses establecidos en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XVI).*

[97] Collantes de Terán Sánchez, *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media*; González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)"; Álvarez, *El Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes genoveses establecidos en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XVI).*

San Sebastián, just south of the city and some distance from their neighborhood adjacent to the cathedral. It was, however, conveniently located next to the wool-washing pools central to their activities in one of the premier Castilian enterprises. At the hermitage, the Genoese also established their own confraternity (*cofradía*) that was strikingly penitential, considering the general indifference to flagellants when they first appeared in Genoa.[98] By the sixteenth century, the Genoese had also established a national chapel in the Monastery of San Francisco Casa Grande, which bordered their traditional neighborhood centered on the Calle de Genova (the modern day Avenida de la Constitución).

These institutional privileges created quite a different context for the Genoese when compared with other foreign merchants, given their protracted and advantageously positioned presence in the city. These "consulates, brotherhoods, hospitals, chapels, centers of worship and burial, [provided institutions] from where they could operate mechanisms for solidarity, maintain their collective identity and even enjoy an exclusive justice system."[99] Moreover, Genoese merchants often could count on less political and military animosity in Castile as a result of repeated alliances between Genoa and Castilian monarchs. Lastly, they were also less affected – though not entirely – by perceived religious differences, as was the case with *conversos*, the English, and the Flemish (when mistakenly identified as Dutch).[100] Yet they also had to deal with negative public opinion invited by their role in royal finance and in American trade, as well as the eventual weakening of the Genoese state's ability to advocate for them in the way that the governments of other foreign merchants could do after the seventeenth century through military-

[98] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528.*

[99] Herrero Sánchez, "Foreign Communities in the Cities of the Catholic Monarchy," 195.

[100] García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, "Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna: Fundaciones, redes asistenciales y formas de sociabilidad."

backed treaties.[101] The confluence of these intellectual and political currents with the general economic, demographic, and social distress of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the source of the pressure on Genoese merchants to shift from liminal to dissimulated modes of ambiguous integration.

The Genoese, and Italians more generally, have been a source of perennial fascination for scholars because of their role in economic expansion from the commercial revolution to the colonization of the Americas and elsewhere. Reevaluating this group as a mercantile diaspora with greater attention to their social location in the Iberian Atlantic brings to bear the questions and perspectives of recent scholarship on a central aspect of the larger narrative of European expansion. The framework of ambiguous integration allows the seeming tensions of these activities – instrumental in connecting Italian merchants in Seville with their compatriots in Genoa, Bruges, Antwerp, and Lyons – to be more fully explained than has been done by previous scholarship. Through ambiguous integration, merchants retained their status and connections as a privileged group but also cultivated roots in Castile that facilitated their activities within the social and legal limits imposed by that society.

This dissertation is composed of three parts. The first (Chapters 1 and 2) argues that civic religious practices, institutions, and funerary art underwrote ambiguous integration by both embedding the community into the social and religious topography of the city while reinforcing Genoese communal identity and memory. These chapters focus on a synchronic examination of the framework present in Seville that facilitated ambiguous integration, even its more liminal manifestations. While some aspects of this framework changed over time – such as the exact

[101] Stein and Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War*, 58–67; See also Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*, esp. 63-65; Herrero Sánchez, "Foreign Communities in the Cities of the Catholic Monarchy," 190–93.

location of the national chapel or the relative popularity of various burial locations – the most significant shift was the decline of the consulate as a focal point and backer of such activities. As the Genoese merchant-bankers weathered royal bankruptcies and the rise of other foreign merchant groups, who attained similar privileges backed by the force of treaties with militarily powerful states, the consulate lost the confidence of its members in its ability to protect their interests as well as their financial contributions. The most successful merchants increasingly sought the protections and stability afforded by naturalization and the more dissimulated form of ambiguous integration instead of consular autonomy and liminality.

The second part (Chapters 3 and 4) then turns to the diachronic exposition of that shift from a liminal to a dissimulated ambiguous integration from the middle of the sixteenth century forward. This shift is demonstrated through an examination of claims and strategies utilized in litigation for nobility (*hidalguia*) and blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*), as well petitions to travel to the Americas. In the early part of the sixteenth century, Genoese identity and ancestry could be utilized and foregrounded in arguments for the equivalence of Genoese nobility and Castilian *hidalguía*. Such suits could benefit from a characterization of a special Genoese and broader Italian nobility promulgated by some writers as worthy of emulation. Nevertheless, litigants faced difficulties around the transfer of nobility across socio-political contexts, the equivalencies of terms, and the problems created by Castilian naming patterns and the Genoese *alberghi*. By the end of the sixteenth century, the confluence of pressures pushed merchants toward the dissimulation or the outright renunciation of foreign ties and identity.

The final part (Chapter 5 and Epilogue) traces the coalescing of an anti-foreigner discourse that was rooted in anxieties around identification permeating late medieval and early modern Iberia. In the case of the Genoese, this discourse focused on their moral character and the

effects of their perceived wealth, mercantile activities, and associations with the Middle East and North Africa. Anti-foreigner discourse could be combatted rhetorically by turning perceived differences into points of strength worthy of emulation. The language of both anti-foreigner discourse and the arguments against it were present in the claims and litigation discussed in Part II. This discourse pushed Genoese merchants in particular toward the dissimulation of their ambiguity, to the point that the community seemed to disappear in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the Genoese continued to operate in Iberia and the Atlantic well into the nineteenth century with a protracted disillusionment concerning the support of a consulate and the invocation of Genoese identity.

Part I:

Institutions and Practices of Piety and Communal Identity

Chapter 1:

Piety and Display: Processions, Confraternities, and Charity in Seville

The narrator and title character of Mateo Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599-1604), described the religious practices of his Genoese father in a way that highlighted the intimate connection between his pious display and his relationship with his Castilian in-laws: "my father had a large whole rosary of fifteen decades, with which he learned to pray – I mean in the Castilian language… this was given to him by my mother who had inherited it from her own. It never parted from his hands."[1] This display of grand devotion could ironically also call into question his father's religious credentials, much to Guzman's consternation who railed "that a man prays, frequently participates in virtuous activities, listens to mass, confesses and takes communion regularly and because of this they call him a hypocrite, is something I cannot suffer nor is there an evil deed equal to this."[2] As this example from a contemporary, popular work of narrative fiction suggests, displays of piety could form a connection between an immigrant and their Castilian relations, while at the same time sparking rumors about what such showy religiosity might be hiding.

In the case of Guzman's father, the narrator admits begrudgingly that the ill-intentioned grumblings may have had some cause in his father's experience as a captive in North Africa, where he became a renegade and married a "prominent Moor" before defrauding her and escaping to Spain with his newfound fortune.[3] He is also described by Guzman in another

[1] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016, I:132. "Tenía mi padre un largo rosario entero de quince dieces, en que se enseñó a rezar – en lengua castellana hablo -, las cuentas gruesas más que avellanas. Este se lo dio mi madre que lo heredo de la suya. Nunca se le caía de las manos.".

[2] Ibid., I:131–32. "que un hombre rece, frecuente virtuosos ejercicios, oiga misa, confiese y comulgue a menudo y por ello le llamen hipócrita, no lo puedo sufrir ni hay maldad semejante a esta."

[3] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016. "También es verdad que esta murmuración tuvo causa.".

passage as a member of a family of Levantine origin that had integrated into Genoese society so much that he could justly claim they were natives (*naturales*) of that city.[4] The associations of his father – and the Genoese in general – with the east was also manifest in claims of effeminacy and were believed to be the root of their over-the-top religious display. Religious practice was a locus for the *fama* of an individual and their family, with considerable bearing on whether they would be accepted in Iberian communities.

Indeed, an anonymous defender of foreign merchants writing in late sixteenth-century Seville exalted what he described as their Catholic *bona fides*, a fundamental sign of their purported integration within the Spanish kingdoms. He claimed that the majority of foreign merchants were "prominent [people] and very Catholic" who sought the "well-being of their souls" by coming to live under "a most Christian and saintly king."[5] Religious orthodoxy was an important part of Castilian identity and claiming a Catholic character for foreign merchants helped to create an image of them as allies, tapping into larger fears and suspicions about heretics and religious minorities.[6] Inseparable from issues of doctrinal belief and practice was the role of charity in this equation, as indicated by the Salamanca graduate, royal secretary, and policy writer (*arbitrista*) Pedro Fernández Navarrete in his *Conservación de monarquías* (1626), describing good merchants as "very Catholic, very religious, very devout, and very charitable," even if "their commerce has well-recognized harm, experienced through our sins."[7] The

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[4] Ibid., I:131.

[5] BNE, MSS 6754, f. 226v. "como es gente la mas de la estrangera principal y muy catolica… donde tanuien les esta para el bien de sus almas… que en estos rynos por la Misericordia de dios estan abraçados por la fee de Jesu Xpto nuestro señor, la obediençia a Pontifice, la christiandad con que se biue … que en ellos gozan del gouierno de vn rey christianissimo y santo."

[6] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish"; Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*.

[7] Fernández Navarrete, *Conservación de Monarquías*, fol. 98. "aunque son muy católicos, muy religiosos, muy devotos, y muy caritativos, tiene su comercio daños conocidos y experimentados por nuestros pecados."

Genoese in Seville partook in a number of public religious displays that could embed them in the city, while at the same time reinforcing their communal identity as members of the Genoese *nación*. This included such activities as founding national chapels, establishing chaplaincies, membership in confraternities, and locally-focused charity, all of which had the potential to reinforce ambiguous integration.

A variety of documents provide evidence of these activities, including local chronicles, wills, confraternity records, and the capitulary acts of the cathedral chapter and city council discussing procession planning. Except for some scattered references, the wills utilized in this chapter generally only reveal bequests at the time of death and do not speak to continued charity or participation in building the religious landscape while the testator was alive.[8] Nevertheless, these wills provide a sampling of the kind of public religiosity and charity Genoese merchants practiced in Seville.[9]

The chapter begins with the various Genoese national chapels and the community's participation in processions and confraternities, with some comparison with the approach taken by the other communities of foreign merchants in Seville. These first two sections argue that the tension apparent in these activities between assimilation and the reinforcement of foreign identity is resolved when understood as symptomatic of and facilitating ambiguous integration. The

[8] For example, Jeronimo Grimaldo had previously instructed twelve poor people to be clothed, but since this had not been done yet he ensured its fulfilment through his will. Otte, "Das genuesische Unternehmertum und Amerika unter den katholischen Königen". Likewise, Bernaldo Grimaldo contributed much in founding the Hermitage of Santa Ana and a confraternity dedicated to the saint just outside Seville in the hamlet of Dos Hermanas, where his in-laws had property. His contributions were such that he and his family were given the privilege of burial before the main altar. For more on Grimaldo, see Barbero Rodríguez, *Historia de la Hermandad de Señora Santa Ana*.

[9] The sample can be taken as representative when compared with the wills of nearby Jerez de la Frontera and Cádiz. See Mingorance Ruiz, "La religiosidad de los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a través de sus testamentos, 1392-1550"; Mingorance Ruiz, "Los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a fines de la Edad Media"; Brilli, "La importancia de hacerse español."

chapter then turns to a selection of wills that provide insight into the testamentary charity of these merchants and its role in facilitating ambiguous integration. Much like the communal activities discussed in the first two sections of the chapter, the evidence of familial and individual activities at the center of the last two sections demonstrates that these merchants' bequests served to embed them into Seville's religious topography through the ties they created with a variety of institutions across the city, varying from the more ephemeral to the protracted nature of ostensibly perpetual foundations.

National Chapels and Communal Solidarity

The establishment of national churches or chapels and the founding of perpetual chaplaincies were two of the most enduring ways Italian merchants integrated into the city's religious landscape. As part of the privileges granted for their role in the conquest of Seville, the Genoese community was allowed to select a church for their exclusive use.[10] The church which they took on as their own was located just south of the city and at some distance from their nominal neighborhood adjacent to the cathedral. This site, which had at one time been a mosque, became a hermitage dedicated to San Sebastián. The church was conveniently located next to the wool-washing pools, which were one of the Genoese merchants' primary interests in Seville as well as part of one of the premier Castilian enterprises.[11] The patron saint of the hermitage was also especially popular and together with the Virgin Mary was considered to be a protector against plague.[12] As such, the city council and the cathedral chapter (in addition to many of the city's confraternities) often organized processions that included the hermitage on the

[10] Álvarez, *El Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes genoveses establecidos en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XVI).*

[11] Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística*. For more on this enterprise, see Phillips and Phillips, *Spain's Golden Fleece*.

[12] Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*.

processional route.[13] The hermitage was eventually relinquished to the cathedral chapter in 1505, around the same time that a confraternity dedicated to San Sebastian was officially recognized there and that another Genoese national chapel appeared in the center of the city.

This second chapel located within the Monastery of San Francisco Casa Grande bordered their traditional neighborhood and *lonja*. It was likely established around the beginning of the century, shortly before the hermitage was returned to the cathedral chapter in 1505. The chapel had enough space to accommodate burials and a main altar with an image of Saint George, the patron saint of Genoa. Because of its size, the Monastery of San Francisco was also home to several other so-called national chapels. This included those of other Iberian merchant consulates, such as the Basque, Burgalese, Catalan, and Portuguese.[14] The monastery also played a central role in the city's infrastructure supporting American trade. It often hosted those preparing to travel to the Americas until the fleet's departure and could serve as an additional meeting place for merchants outside of the *lonja*.[15] In addition, the monastery was adjacent to and shared a courtyard containing orange trees with the meeting house of the city council (*casa consistorial*), and by the end of the sixteenth century it also shared the plaza with the Audiencia de los Grados of Seville, the city's appellate court. It is not surprising that the monastery would be an attractive location for a new national chapel. Through such a chapel, the Genoese maintained a space that could bind the community of merchants in Seville at a location that simultaneously inserted them further into the heart of the city's administrative and economic life.

[13] Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística*; Pérez González, *Los laicos en la Sevilla Bajomedieval*.

[14] Castillo Utrilla, "Capillas de las Naciones."

[15] McClure, "Worlds Within Worlds."

By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Genoese consuls were looking at yet another location to establish a national chapel. In his 1591 correspondence with the Doge of Genoa, the consul Agostino Airolo laid out his plan to collect a five percent tax on imports and exports between Genoa and Seville in order to fund a new national chapel in the city.[16] His request was ultimately granted, and the Genoese were given a chapel with an image of Saint George on the main altar in exchange for their financial assistance in constructing the new presbytery of the Convent of Santo Angel belonging to the Carmelite order.[17] Also part of the agreement was Genoese membership in the confraternity devoted to the Virgen del Carmen.[18] The new convent was located just north of the Monastery of San Francisco and was the first to be founded in Seville by the Discalced Carmelites, a stricter, reformed offshoot of the order founded by the Iberian saints Theresa of Ávila and John of the Cross. It was also an order that grew in popularity among the Genoese, given the connection of the Virgin of Carmel with the Stella Maris (patroness of mariners) and the patronage of the former Sevillian merchant Nicholas Doria, who became the second provincial of the order and its first superior general.[19] Doria was instrumental in the foundation of discalced convents in his native Genoa, as well as subsequent foundations in Seville.[20] This case also demonstrates what, according to Airolo, the Genoese themselves saw as the benefit and purpose of having their own chapel: to provide for the communal devotion and burial of the Genoese in Seville. It is also emblematic of the insertion of

[16] Morand, "La nación nómada, los genoveses en Cádiz," 26.

[17] Fernández Rojas, *Patrimonio artístico de los conventos masculinos desamortizados en Sevilla durante el siglo XIX*, 487.

[18] Gil-Bermejo García, "Naturalizaciones de italianos en Andalucía," 185–86.

[19] Dobado Fernández, "Imágenes italianas del Carmen en Andalucía."

[20] Rodríguez, "Nicolás Doria."

these merchants into the religious life of the city in ways that provided avenues for assimilation alongside the reproduction of their Genoese communal identity.

This approach was also undertaken by Genoese merchants elsewhere, such as in Cádiz where they secured a chapel in the cathedral itself and seem to have been more involved in a variety of local confraternities.[21] The Genoese also worked in the sixteenth century with French and Flemish merchants to fund the construction of the Monastery of San Francisco in Cádiz in exchange for crypts in the new foundation. Nevertheless, a survey of Genoese wills in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cádiz reveals almost no mention of these national chapels and crypts as burial places. Instead, the locations identified in those wills seem to have been selected as a result of particular devotions and confraternity memberships.[22] The Genoese also had a national chapel in the Monastery of San Francisco in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria during the early part of the sixteenth century, which suggests a general interest in relocating their national chapels to Franciscan monasteries in that century: in Seville, Cádiz, and Las Palmas, at least. Parallels in terms of the construction of national chapels can also be seen among the Genoese in Spanish Milan and Naples, where they competed to secure and embellish the national church space that was central to their community identity while abroad.[23] Moreover, other foreign groups in this period also followed this pattern to varying degrees, depending on their importance in their adoptive communities and the extent to which they were able to carve a space in that society.

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[21] Morand, "La nación nómada, los genoveses en Cádiz."

[22] Brilli, "La importancia de hacerse español," 243–46.

[23] Terreni, "La relazioni politiche ed economiche degli hombres de'negocios genovesi con le élites milanesi nella seconda metà del Cinquecento"; Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean*.

For example, in Seville, French and Flemish merchants participated in national confraternities though they do not seem to have had placed as much importance on chapels as the Genoese and other Italians (such as the Florentines at the Monastery of San Pablo).[24] It is telling that the Genoese did not establish a national confraternity under the auspices of the religious authorities of Seville and yet continued to guard their privilege to a national chapel in the city, in contrast to the French and Flemish. It may be the result of the purported self-sufficiency of these merchants, requiring less corporative aid and a reduced "spirit of largesse" which seem to have been the spur of participation in confraternities among the artisans and nobility of the city of Zamora in the Crown of Aragon and elsewhere in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[25] This may also be explained by these merchants' quasi-independent participation in the more performative aspects of confraternity membership discussed below. In this way, they were still given space in the pageantry that was Holy Week and Corpus Christi through their own religious and secular groupings independent of the oversight provided by a separate confraternity. There was also the possibility of membership in some of the many Sevillian confraternities, though this does seem limited as far as the evidence of the sample of wills suggests. It thus seems that the official establishment of a confraternity in Seville may not have seemed necessary to these merchants, since they were able to participate through a variety of options with less oversight from the city's ecclesiastic and secular authorities.

[24] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 638r-640r. Bartolomei, "Identidad e integración de los comerciantes extranjeros en la Europa moderna. La colonia francesa de Cádiz a finales del siglo XVIII"; Crespo Solana, "Trusteeship and Cooperation in the Flemish Merchants Community in Cádiz"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)."

[25] Flynn, *Sacred Charity*, 18–21.

Praying & Displaying Together: Confraternities and Processions

The two highlights of the public religious calendar in Seville were Corpus Christi and Holy Week. The first was a feast day promoted by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) celebrating the Eucharist, and by extension the clergy, which over time subsumed the various aspects of the Carnival festivities and redirected them under greater clerical and state oversight.[26] The second included Palm Sunday (commemorating Jesus's entry into Jerusalem), Holy Thursday (commemorating the Last Supper), Good Friday (commemorating the crucifixion), and Easter Sunday (commemorating the resurrection). For both festival periods, the city council, the cathedral chapter, and the many confraternities, guilds, and institutions around Seville organized collectively to put on processions, tableaux vivants, dances, and the like.[27] Sevillians spent considerable sums on the art and pageantry at the heart of these activities, even as the Spanish kingdoms were increasingly faced with dire economic difficulties – highlighting the depth of importance these had for Sevillian society, much of which they still retain today.[28] These civic religious rituals and ceremonies sparked sustained interactions between secular and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as engagement with the larger populace through the requisite planning of and subsequent participation in these public rituals.

Work on the civic religion of the cities of Italy, the Low Countries, and France illustrates the importance of such rituals and processions – like Corpus Christi and Holy Week – for the formation of a civic identity.[29] Some scholars portray these rituals as arenas where the

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[26] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*; Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1348-1700*.

[27] For general discussion of Corpus Christi and Holy Week in Seville during this period, see Pérez González, "La presencia de las Cofradías en la fiesta del Corpus Christi de Sevilla a fines del siglo XV y comienzos del XVI"; Sánchez Herrero, "Las cofradías de Semana Santa de Sevilla durante la modernidad."

[28] Wunder, *Baroque Seville*.

[29] Some examples include: Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300-1520*, esp. 28-36, 52; Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, esp. 5, 187, 223-30; Thompson, *Cities of God*, esp. 6-7, 141, 148-60.

participants visualize their social role and position within the city. They are particularly attuned to processions as the setting for a ceremonial ordering of society because the participants are often organized according to social understandings of status, in addition to other ritual criteria.[30] In fact, they can also be seen as spaces for the expression of different visions of society and negotiation between its different groups, given the evidence that conflicts over positioning were ubiquitous.[31] With the reform movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Church sought to rein in institutions run by the laity and their participation in public rituals. This sometimes led to conflicts over the proper roles of participants and was also manifested in the liquidation of a number of Sevillian confraternities (including one frequented by Genoese merchants) in the 1570s, which was instigated by the monarchy and its clerical advisors.[32]

Italian merchants likewise took part in these festivities. Their participation, however, took a variety of forms, whether through their more formal membership in the city's confraternities or following the lead of the consuls of their *nación*. They at times even organized their own procession independently from those organized by the city's ecclesiastical and secular councils. Some of these methods were more amenable to dissimulating foreignness (such as membership in prominent local confraternities), but others contributed to the more liminal form of ambiguous integration. Both approaches worked to incorporate these merchants into the community of

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[30] Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1348-1700*, esp. 121, 143, 150-55; Mateos Royo, "All the Town Is a Stage," esp. 167, 188; Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, esp. 5, 187, 223-30. This approach has been questioned in part because of the tendency to overemphasize these rituals' roles as tools for the elite to elicit social complacency. It nevertheless remains useful in understanding how society was envisioned by elites and the position they aimed to assign themselves. See Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300-1520*, 17, 34, 302–5.

[31] Ruiz, *A King Travels*, esp 4-7, 35-6; Ruiz, "Elite and Popular Culture in Late Fifteenth-Century Castilian Festivals: The Case of Jaen," 296–315; Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1348-1700*, 132–41, 152–53; Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c.1300-1520*, 28–36, 52.

[32] Hermoso Mellado-Damas, "La cofradía de los Caballeros de la calle Castro de Sevilla."

Seville and the conception of its civic identity embodied in these rituals, while the second also aided in the preservation of their distinct communal identity.

Genoese merchants were members of a variety of confraternities in Seville, from the confraternity of Nuestra Senora de los Ángeles, which became rather esteemed by the end of the sixteenth century given its antiquity (founded between 1394 and 1400), to the prestigious confraternity of the Caballeros de Calle Castro, which claimed to admit only those descended from someone present at the conquest of the city in 1248.[33] The latter confraternity was almost unique in Seville in that its members could also claim *limpieza de sangre* as a result of their membership. Nonetheless, by the sixteenth century many of its members were merchants, middling *letrados*, or Catalans; many were also identified with Sevillian converso families. This confraternity was one of the few disbanded and its assets liquidated in the 1570s, as a result of the impulse for greater oversight over the religious activities of the laity.[34] As another example, the Genoese merchant Sebastian Vento stated he was a member of the confraternity of Santa María la Antigua in 1510, which had a hospital in the central neighborhood (*collación*) of Santa María – the neighborhood around the cathedral. His membership is somewhat striking given that in 1500 the confraternity was almost entirely composed of Castilian clerics.[35] Thus, membership in confraternities like Santa María la Antigua, Los Ángeles, and the Caballeros de Calle Castro might all serve to dissimulate the foreignness of these merchants, whose connection with these

[33] For more on the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, one of a handful historically reserved for Seville's Black population, see García Bernal and Gamero Rojas, "Las corporaciones de nación en la Sevilla moderna: Fundaciones, redes asistenciales y formas de sociabilidad," 352; Moreno Navarro, *La antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla*; This confraternity became embroiled in a lawsuit in 1604 with the prestigious, but less ancient, all-white confraternity of Santa Maria la Antigua (of which the Genoese merchant Silvestre Vento was a member in the first decade of the sixteenth century) over precedence in processions. See Rowe, *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism*, 115.

[34] Hermoso Mellado-Damas, "La cofradía de los Caballeros de la calle Castro de Sevilla."

[35] Pérez González, *Los laicos en la Sevilla Bajomedieval*, 246.

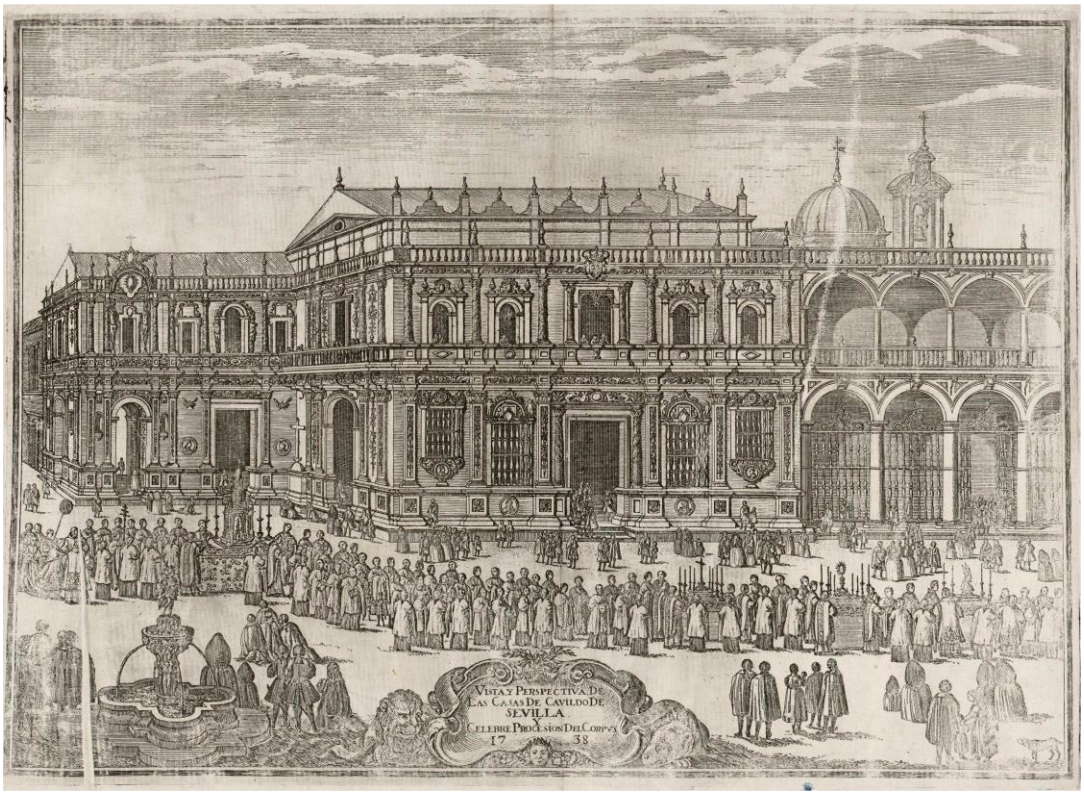

Figure 1: This eighteenth century engraving depicts a part of the Corpus Christi procession as it passed before the porticos that formed a part of the Monastery of San Francisco adjacent to the Casa Consistorial. Pedro Tortolero, *Ayuntamiento de Sevilla*, 1738 (Dibujos, Grabados, y Fotografías, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid).

prominent groups further integrated them into Sevillian society and could diminish the possibility of their naturalization being questioned by neighbors and local officials.

In the capitulary acts (meeting minutes) of the cathedral chapter for 1532, the canons discussed the planning for the Corpus Christi procession and outlined the order the procession should take.[36] At its head were the cathedral's processional cross, two votive candles, and two priests. Then came the guilds and confraternities with their candles, banners, and music (in order of antiquity). They were followed by the processional crosses and a tableau vivant put on by each of the parishes of the city, then came the diocesan clergy carrying candles in their set order

[36] Sanz, "La procesión del Corpus en Sevilla."

reflective of their prestige. At the center of the Corpus procession were the reliquaries chosen by the cathedral chapter and carried by clerics on six small platforms. Following these was the Sevillian cathedral's relic of the true cross. After the twelve axes of the cathedral came the eucharist that was at the center of the Corpus Christi festivities and carried by the youths of the choir. Immediately after came musicians selected by the secular city council, then the council itself and the city's knights (the *caballeros*), followed by the consuls of the foreign merchants in Seville. Finally, there were the games, each accompanied by its own dance.

In discussing the place of the foreign merchants, the canons noted that they would coordinate their efforts with the respective consuls of each nation so that they would process "that day adorned and well-dressed, as they were accustomed to do in the past."[37] The location of the foreign merchants and their consuls in the second half of the procession, just after the city council and the *caballeros*, represents visually their location within urban society. It is suggestive that these merchants and the institutions that guarded their privileges and separate position in the city were nevertheless included in the official order of the Corpus Procession. While these groups were liminal, they were nevertheless imagined as part of the larger community, the societal body called together in celebration of the Corpus Christi. Their simultaneous identification as foreigners, organized under their separate national consulates, and as members of Seville's body sustained their ambiguous integration.

Perhaps even more supportive were the activities practiced by some Genoese merchants cited by Francisco de Sigüenza in his work describing the festivities accompanying the translation of the image of *Nuestra Senora de los Reyes*, the body of San Leandro, and two royal

[37] Sentaurens, "Séville et le théâtre: de la fin du Moyen Age à la fin du XVIIe siècle," 61. "que se platique con los consules de las naciones extranxeras y con los mercaderes de la ciudad, aquel dia adornados y ataviados como solian hazer antiguamente."

bodies to the new royal chapel in the cathedral after the completion of renovations in the sixteenth century. Sigüenza explicitly identified the Genoese as a separate group: "the members of penitential confraternities in Seville number above twelve thousand, without the Genoese; who do not have a confraternity founded and confirmed by the ordinary, and so are not numbered here."[38] These Genoese appear to have been based at the hermitage of San Sebastián, discussed above. Nevertheless, this group and their procession on Holy Thursday do not appear to be officially organized or commissioned by either Seville's cathedral chapter or city council, nor were they organized into an established confraternity overseen by the city's religious authorities. A confraternity had been established at the hermitage of San Sebastián dedicated to that saint, which some scholars claim was frequented by Genoese merchants.[39] This was likely one of several confraternities in the city dedicated to San Sebastián.[40] The hermitage itself also became highly esteemed, so much so that most confraternities in Seville included it as part of their processional routes, and at the end of the sixteenth century the Pope granted indulgences for visiting it.

Additionally, by the end of the century the Genoese nation seems to have been interested in securing membership in a Sevillian confraternity for their members, including it as a request in their negotiations with the Discalced Carmelites in Seville to fund the ongoing construction of their newly established Convent of Santo Angel, also discussed above.[41] This suggests that the

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[38] F. Sigüenza, Traslacion de la imagen de Nuestra Senora de los Reyes y cuerpo de San Leandro y de los cuerpos reales a la Real Capilla de la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla… (1579) "el numero de cofrades de disciplina que hay en Sevilla pasa de los doce mil sin los genoveses; que aunque el Jueves Santo salen en procesion disciplinandose, no tienen cofradia fundada ni confirmada por el ordinario, y por eso no van aqui." See also Sánchez Herrero, "Las cofradías de Semana Santa de Sevilla durante la modernidad," 61.

[39] Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística*, 602 citing Palomo, Historia Critica de las Riadas. However, neither source provides additional information as to how they were aware of Genoese membership.

[40] Pérez González, *Los laicos en la Sevilla Bajomedieval*.

[41] Gil-Bermejo García, "Naturalizaciones de italianos en Andalucía," 185–86.

Genoese were looking for more opportunities for confraternity membership in Seville for those associated with the consulate. This contrasts with the approach they undertook until the end of the sixteenth century, in which Genoese merchants took part in these activities primarily on their own and outside of the direct oversight of the Sevillian authorities. This is paralleled by their compatriots at the court in Valladolid who organized a penitential confraternity dedicated to la Piedad, which was exclusive to the Genoese nation. The confraternity disappeared when the royal court left the city, which implies that it travelled with the court and was not rooted in the city itself nor organized in consort with its religious authorities.[42] Nevertheless, it is significant that the Genoese penitential procession was permitted under the umbrella of activities taking place during Holy Week in Seville. The format of their participation thus simultaneously marked their separation as a foreign group, reinforced their Genoese communal identity, and confirmed a place for them within Seville's religious and social life.

Wills, Charity, and Ambiguous Integration

The remainder of the chapter turns from the larger communal to the more individual and familial activities these merchants undertook within the religious and social world of Seville. Evidence of these activities are drawn primarily from a sample of wills drawn up in the city and supplemented by references to additional notarial appearances of the individual and their family. Although formulaic, wills can be particularly useful for the construction of case studies since they provide a partial cross-section of many aspects of a person's life at the time it was written. As a source, they have been at the center of many studies ranging from tracking shifts in language as markers of a shift in mentality, to constructing a prosopographical snapshot of a

[42] See Sánchez Herrero, "Las cofradías de Semana Santa de Sevilla durante la modernidad," 61.

community, and even comparing the religiosity of foreigners and natives.[43] Many of the wills consulted for this chapter and the next have been cited by previous scholarship, but they have not been used to examine Italian merchants' incorporation into Sevillian society and its religious landscape.[44] They are thus ready for a reexamination that can also serve as an entry point for constructing case studies of individuals and their families, while also suggesting some general trends in terms of charitable bequests.

My search through the notarial records held at the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla* has focused primarily on one out of the twenty-four notarial offices (*oficio* XV) during the period 1480 to 1570, in which I have consulted many wills, including those of the thirty Italian merchants deployed in this chapter.[45] Office XV was not the only place providing notarial services to the Italians in Seville, but its proximity to the cathedral, the docks, and Genoese warehouses and traditional neighborhood made it the most frequented.[46] The generalizability of the tallies and the conclusions I draw from this sample represent a discrete case study of the primarily Genoese presence in Seville, which complements the evidence provided by the case

[43] See for example: Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth*; Phillips, "Local Integration and Long-Distance Ties"; Mingorance Ruiz, "La religiosidad de los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a través de sus testamentos, 1392-1550."

[44] Ruth Pike refers to the wills of Genoese merchants in Seville in her classic study, but only in passing to discuss their general lack of investment in local property: Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World.*. Enrique Otte made an extensive search through oficio XV resulting in much material on Genoese and other merchants in Seville. He focused primarily on their mercantile activities and often used these wills for information about trade and banking but found them otherwise "uninteresting" for his purposes. See his posthumous and unfinished work: Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

[45] The wills I consulted from this office were almost exclusively for Italian men. For more on the wills of foreign women in neighboring Jerez de la Frontera, see: Pérez González and Mingorance Ruiz, "Las mujeres de las colonias de extranjeros y su participación en la economía urbana a fines de la Edad Media."

[46] For general discussions of the Genoese presence in Seville, see: Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*; Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV"; González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)."

studies.[47] Moreover, this selection of wills is more representative than the small number might suggest (given the relative size of the Genoese community).[48]

The wills at the center of this chapter are nearly evenly-split between *vecinos* and *estantes*, or those officially recognized as citizens of the city and those residing there with a primary residence elsewhere or otherwise not officially recognized as full members of the community. (**Table 1**) The wills may appear to privilege those who intended to remain in Seville and build a life there in opposition to Genoa, yet the reasons for registering a will could vary considerably. For example, it might be drawn up on the eve of travel or before a marriage, situations accompanied by a potential for unexpected death or shift in the list of those eligible for inheritance during which the testator wanted to ensure certain bequests that might not otherwise occur according to local inheritance law.[49] The wills in this sample include a variety of testators, from young merchants without a wife or children to those who had married in Seville and intended to go on to the Americas. The sample also extends beyond those who were dictating their will on their apparent deathbed. In this way the sample provides a snapshot of the merchants living in Seville in the first half of the sixteenth century and illustrates the variety of their experiences, all of which can be better understood together when placed within the framework of ambiguous integration.

[47] The majority of these wills were written for men of Genoese origin; the breakdown of the wills in terms of *naturaleza* can be seen in Table 1.

[48] For example, it is estimated that there were around one hundred fifty Genoese in Seville in 1519. See: González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)," 271.

[49] Marco Cataño appears to have written his will before his marriage in Seville to specify where and by whom his illegitimate children would be raised in the event of his death. This is not surprising given their exclusion from inheritance in Castilian law unless expressly indicated by the deceased. AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, ff. 589r-591r.

Table 1: Juridical status in the wills.

Juridical Status				
Vecino	*Estante*	*Morador*	Unspecified	TOTAL:
15	13	1	1	30

Source: Appendix 1

The way *vecinos* and *estantes* were identified in these wills is likewise suggestive of their ambiguous integration. Terms and phrases such as "*natural de la ciudad de Génova*", "*de nación genovés*", or simply "*genovés*" continued to be utilized in reference to many of these merchants, regardless of the juridical status that followed. Ten out of the fifteen *vecinos* in the sample were identified as a "*genovés*" and in one instance as a "*florentín.*" (See **Table 1** and **Table 2**.) This was likely a consistent practice, given that the wills are distributed evenly throughout the period.

Table 2: Naturaleza and juridical status in the wills compared.

Naturaleza					
Genoese	Florentine	Milanese / Lombard	Pisa	Unspecified*	TOTAL:
19	2	2	1	6	30
Juridical Status					
Vecino	*Estante*	*Morador*	Unspecified		TOTAL:
15	13	1	1		30

Source: Appendix 1

These individuals retained identification with their community of origin even as they established deeper roots in Seville, Castile, and its American possessions. The case studies discussed in the remainder of this chapter and the next demonstrate how these very *vecinos* who continued to identify as Genoese or Florentine often occupied a liminal space in Seville, maintaining business, friendship, and kinship ties within the Italian communities while at the

* All of these were identified as Genoese in origin utilizing a variety of factors, including: stated origin of parents, a recognizably Genoese family name, the use of titles like *micer*, and close association with other explicitly identified Genoese people. Where a more explicit statement of origin like the first was lacking, a combination of the other factors assisted in the identification and in all cases more than one factor was present.

same time cultivating relationships and a position in Seville's religious, political, and economic life, in opposition to what was ostensibly expected of naturalized foreigners. The decline in the proportion of *vecinos* identified by their origin as the sixteenth century progressed foreshadows the greater dissimulation of foreignness that, while certainly affected by generational change, is best explained by the growing pressure exerted by anti-foreigner discourse. This is further supported by the evidence presented in Part II. The subsequent two sections discuss testamentary bequests, ranging from the ephemeral to the more enduring, elucidating their role in reinforcing the ambiguous integration of individuals and families.

Social Welfare and Charitable Bequests

The charitable bequests left by Italians living in Seville illuminate the integration of these merchants not only in terms of institutional ties and religious devotions, but also with regard to their concerns about local poverty, foundling children, and other similar issues within the city. These activities were central to the establishment of ties between the Genoese community and Seville more generally. Charity was a particularly powerful motor for creating and maintaining the "bonds of community" through institutional poor relief.[50] In Seville, socially-oriented charity was largely concentrated on the various hospitals in and around the city: at fifty-seven percent of the total.[51] (**Figure 2**) The most frequent of these were in favor of the Hospital of San Làzaro, located just outside the city and dedicated to the care of lepers. Most of these bequests to San Làzaro, however, were rather small and attributable to the hospital's inclusion within the customary bequests (*mandas forsozas*). (**Table 4** in Appendix 2)

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[50] Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800*.

[51] This interest in hospitals can also be found in nearby Jerez de la Frontera, as well as in Peru. However, in the latter case there was a clear preference for hospitals in Genoa, which do not appear in these Sevillian wills. Mingorance Ruiz, "La religiosidad de los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a través de sus testamentos, 1392-1550"; Almorza Hidalgo, "El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú, 1580-1640."

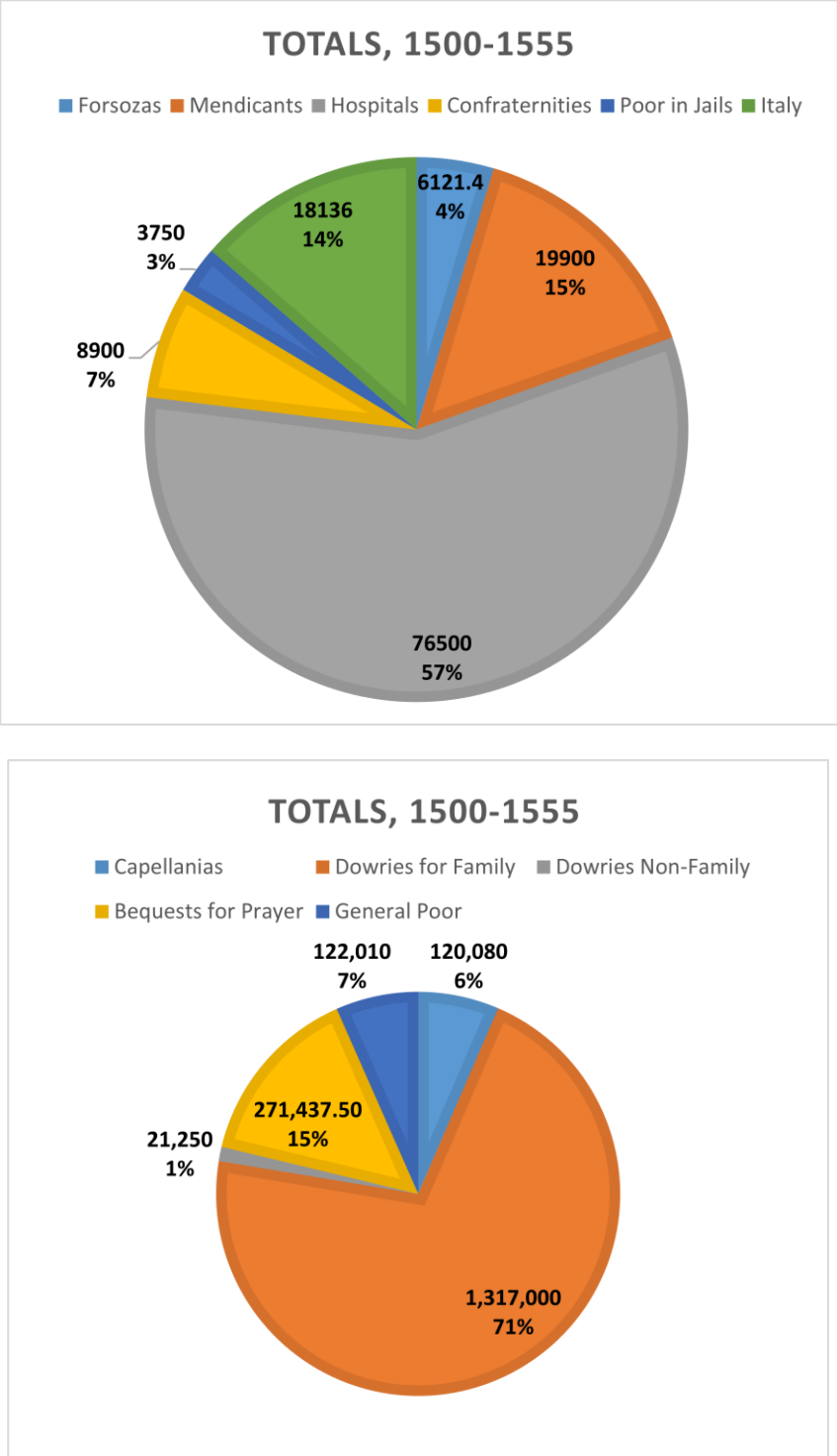

Figure 2: Totals of Italian Testamentary Charity in Seville, Social- & Kin-oriented. Amounts in maravedis. Source: Appendix 1.

Two testators from this sample of wills seemed particularly interested in Seville's hospitals. The first was Luis Cataño (Cataneo), whose 1506 will outlined bequests to the Hospitals of Las Animas and Los Inocentes Cosme y Damian in the amount of 1,000 *maravedis* and 500 *maravedis*, respectively. In addition to his *forsoza* donation to the Hospital of San Lazaro, Luis also left it a bequest of 1,000 *maravedis* worth of *tributos*.[52] That this is the same amount Cataño left to fund his chaplaincy is suggestive of the importance these causes had for him. Cataño also bequeathed 1,000 *maravedis* for the maintenance of the poor in the conciliar jail, reserved primarily for urban offenders, as well as those imprisoned in the jail of the Santa Hermandad, which focused on the region outside the city. Luis was a *vecino* at the time he wrote his will and had married Isabel de las Casas, a member of Seville's local nobility.[53] Given the Castilian relatives he mentions in his will and the fact that he had secured burial in the tomb belonging to the Carranza family in the Monastery of San Agustín, he was likely related to other Catanos that had been residing in Seville for at least a generation before him.[54] Such extensive connections with the community of Seville explain to some extent his contributions to socially-oriented charities.

At mid-century, Cataño's interests were paralleled by the Lombard merchant Francisco Rigor, who wrote his will in 1553 as a *morador,* or resident of the city. In addition to the *forsoza* donation to San Làzaro, Rigor also left a substantial bequest to the Hospital del Amor de Dios y al Proximo in the amount of 200 ducats, as well as 20 ducats to the confraternity of the Santissimo Sacramento and its church, to be distributed to the poor.[55] Rigor also donated to the

[52] AHPS, Protocolos, 9103 f. 936r-937v.

[53] For some discussion of Catano's in-laws, see Sánchez Saus, *Linajes sevillanos medievales*.

[54] AHPS, Protocolos, 9103, f. 936r-937v.

[55] AHPS, Protocolos, 9171 f. 370r-374v

relief of the poor in the city's prisons and to those who could be found begging in front of the royal foundry – which he supported with a substantial donation of 200 ducats. Rigor also seemed particularly concerned with the city's foundling population, bequeathing 10 ducats to catechize these children in addition to 300 ducats in *tributos* to support those "left at the doors of the cathedral and other churches in the city."[56] Francisco Rigor's connection with Seville is far less apparent than Luis Cataño's. Rigor was particularly invested in dyes, including *orchilla* from the Canary Islands and Mexican *cochinilla,* which he exported from Seville to Milan. But he also invested in a variety of merchandise which he had sold through associates in Peru. In all these enterprises, Rigor partnered with Sevillians who traveled to the Americas and elsewhere on his behalf. He was not married at the time he made his will and left most of his estate to his nephew living in Milan, while three out of four of his executors were also identified as natives of that city.[57] It is thus striking that Rigor donated so much to the poor and the institutions devoted to them in Seville, as opposed to institutions in Milan. In contrast, the Milanese merchant Andrea de San Julián – one of Rigor's executors who wrote his own will in Seville not long after in 1555 – only stipulated bequests to the *mandas forsozas* at a mere half a *real* each.[58] This suggests that Rigor had a concern specifically for the community of Seville in which he had been living for some time, even if he was not necessarily intending to marry, establish a family, and secure *vecino* status there.

Alongside these, the case presented by Luis de Riberol (Ripparolio) illustrates how such postures could be combined in a clear example of ambiguous integration. Although his relatives

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid. The fourth was a priest of the Sagrario parish attached to Seville's cathedral.

[58] AHPS, Protocolos, 9175, f. 511r-514v.

had maintained a connection with Seville for generations Luis remained an *estante* at the time he made his will in 1513. While he had not become legally recognized as a *vecino* or a *natural*, his uncles and many of his cousins had. Of these, one uncle had served as Spanish ambassador to Genoa and another as the consul of the Genoese *nación* in Seville, while the famous Francisco Riberol who funded the conquest of the Canary Islands and the production of sugar there was his cousin.[59] The principal economic concern outlined in his will thus unsurprisingly concerned the sugar mills he and his family had invested in implementing on the islands. What is most revealing in Riberol's will are his stipulations about how his property should be divided, making a clear division between what he owned in Seville and Genoa. Almost everything that he owned in Seville he wanted sold and the proceeds distributed among the poor of the city. The sole exception was a set of houses on *calle Tintes*, the income from which he intended to provide for perpetual masses and would be preferably rented to other members of the Riberol lineage who wanted to live in Seville. Riberol also wanted his property in Genoa sold and divided. One portion was to aid in the reduction of the public debt of San Giorgio, which he described as customary in Genoa, and another would fund the dowries of the poor of his lineage, requiring that the beneficiary reside in Genoa.[60] In this way, Riberol reflects an ambiguous integration that built on the assimilation of his family to conduct profitable enterprise in the Spanish kingdoms and an abiding concern for the social and political issues of both Seville and Genoa.

Others among this selection of testators also left bequests to the poor, but rather than donate to an institution charged with their relief, several also had a particular individual or group in mind for direct charity. For example, the Genoese merchant Jeronimo Grimaldo (Grimaldi), a

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[59] Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

[60] For more on the highly respected act of contributing to the reduction of public debt through testamentary bequests in Genoa, see Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*.

vecino of Santo Domingo on the Island of Hispaniola, had instructed his confessor to dress twelve poor people in Seville, who he had identified to him beforehand.[61] The *estante* Florentine merchant Juan Bautista Ridolfi had left a similar bequest of 40 ducats to a particular group that he had identified to his executors, but which he did not specify in his will.[62] There is also the somewhat extraordinary sum of 12,000 *maravedis* left to the unspecified poor of Seville by Esteban Buenvecino, an *estante* Genoese merchant.[63] Of these four, two (Rigor and Grimaldo) also stipulated their desire to be buried in a mendicant habit, whereas a third (Buenvecino) had provided for substantial donations to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Seville. Given his selection of the Monastery of San Pablo for his burial, the fourth (Ridolfi) may also have had an affinity for the Dominicans – although, the monastery was also the location of the Florentine national chapel. Rigor and Grimaldo also named clerics first among their executors, which is not a common practice in this sample of wills and may explain their extensive charitable bequests to some extent. There appears to be a correlation between ties to the mendicant orders or clerics in general and heftier donations to various methods of poor relief.

A portion of this charity was more personal, given that some testators may have selected the specific recipients. This sort of giving was nonetheless ritualistic and imbued with religious symbolism, such as Grimaldo's selection of twelve paupers.[64] Although it is not possible to determine what kind of poor were the intended beneficiaries, it is probable that they would have conformed with the image of the worthy or deserving poor: widows, the working poor with large

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[61] A transcription of Grimaldo's 1516 will was published by Otte as an appendix. See: Otte, "Das genuesische Unternehmertum und Amerika unter den katholischen Königen," 66–71.

[62] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 638r-641r.

[63] AHPS, Protocolos, 9106, ff. 245-247v.

[64] Otte, "Das genuesische Unternehmertum und Amerika unter den katholischen Königen". For more on the symbolism of this, see Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth*.

families, and those with disabilities. These poor were at times inscribed on poor rolls kept by their parish and put together by ecclesiastical and civic officials working in concert to identify those worthy of charitable distributions.[65] The example of Melchor Salvago further demonstrates an approach rooted in identification with and concern for a particular neighborhood, since he instructed his wife and father-in-law as his executors to auction off a selection of clothing and distribute the proceeds among the poor of the neighborhood of la Magdalena in which he lived.[66] In this way, merchants whose families had lived in Seville for generations and intermarried with the local nobility, as well as those who were new to the city and remained in the less-rooted juridical status of *estante* displayed an interest in the maintenance of the poor of Seville and the institutions that served them via testamentary charity.

This sample of wills also provides some insight into popular devotions spanning the Iberian Peninsula, such as a substantial bequest of 50,000 *maravedis* left by the Genoese merchant Lorenzo Garibaldo (Garibaldi) to the Monastery of Guadalupe in Extremadura for the purchase of lamp oil.[67] There were also some considerable donations to Seville's mendicant orders. These could include monetary bequests such as the 2,000 *maravedis* left by Esteban Buenvecino in 1508 and the 12 ducats given by the cleric Rafael de Sopranis in 1534 to the Franciscans of the Monastery of San Francisco in Seville.[68] But they could also be material – as was the silver chalice commissioned by the aforementioned Sopranis for the Franciscans – or human, as was the case when a young black slave named Melchor was given by the merchant

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[65] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*.

[66] AHPS, Protocolos, 9159, f. 876r-878v. "vendan en publica almoneda chamarra de terciopelo negro aforradea en raso morado carmesi & sayo morado de los mismo & sayo de terciopelo & capote de camino de grana con pasamanos de oro."

[67] AHPS, Protocolos, 9112, f. 41-52.

[68] AHPS, Protocolos, 9106, ff. 245-247v. and AHPS, Protocolos, 9791, f. 122v-125v.

Jeronimo Grimaldo to the Dominican friars of the Monastery of Santa Paula so that they would remember to pray for his soul.[69] Bequests to mendicant orders were the second largest of the total institutional charity at fifteen percent, though falling quite a bit behind gifts to the hospitals of the city, which added up to fifty-seven percent. (**Figure 2**)

There was also a difference in scale between the institutional charity of these wills (more civically focused) and the bequests intended for the relief of poorer relations. This concern with relatives and close associates is understandable, given the importance of kinship and the particular over the general. The prevalent conception of this may be best illustrated by St. Ambrose of Milan, who argued that an individual's charitable responsibility emanated outward in concentric circles, from the immediate family to distant relations, and then to the larger community of strangers.[70] This outlook is also illustrated particularly well by the wills made by St. Catherine of Genoa at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. Her wills display a division of charitable contributions between the major hospital of the city – Pammatone, where she administered the female wards (discussed further below) – and the children of her deceased brothers. Moreover, it has been argued that "her major concern was that her family's property would return to deserving Fieschi nephews and nieces," which took up the bulk of her bequests.[71] As one of Genoa's two sole saints, her charitable interests are revealing in their connection to the practices of her compatriots living in Seville.[72] While bequests to relatives and friends so that the beneficiary would pray for the deceased are a significant share of non-

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[69] AHPS, Protocolos, 9791, f. 122v-125v. and Otte, "Das genuesische Unternehmertum und Amerika unter den katholischen Königen."

[70] Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 52, 57, 119; See also Brodman, *Charity and Welfare*, 136–37; Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800*, 117.

[71] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*.

[72] Her and her husband's wills are included in Hügel, *Mystical Element of Religion*.

institutional charity, the largest share by far (71%) was taken by dowries. (**Figure 2**) The most numerous of these were intended to provide dowries to daughters (legitimate and illegitimate), nieces, and still more distant relations; either for marriage or to cover the cost of entrance into a convent.

For example, Batista Cataño left provisions for 60 and 50 ducats to be given to his two sisters, furnishing dowries for his nieces that provided a choice between marriage and religious orders. He also left a much smaller gift of 2.5 ducats to the three illegitimate children that his relative Marco Cataño had with a Sevillian woman.[73] The testator might also take the opportunity to reimburse relatives or friends for their contributions to dowries, as did the Florentine merchant Juan Bautista Ridolfi, instructing his executors to pay back his brother-in-law Tadeo Reche up to 100 ducats, which he had contributed to the dowry of Ridolfi's sister Magdalena. These gifts might also be directed to a particular foundling child, such as the gift of 30 ducats left by the same Ridolfi to a girl named Ursula living in the house of Juan Orsuche, but solely on the condition that she enter a convent. Otherwise, Ridolfi instructed the bequest be transferred to another needy person to be selected by his executors who would be willing to take religious orders.[74] These sorts of contributions to foundlings might have been stipulated because the testator was their parent or a relative. But they might also have been made as a result of a familiarity gained while caring for them at one time or another, a practice that was widespread and at times financially subsidized by payments from hospitals dedicated to their care.[75] Covering the cost of religious orders may aid the beneficiary, but it was also particularly useful

[73] AHPS, Protocolos, 9104 f. 198v-201r.

[74] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 638r-641r.

[75] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*.

for the testator, who would be remunerated by their prayers. In addition to dowries, a testator might also direct a gift to close family to cover the costs of education. The wealthy Genoese merchant Pedro Benito Grillo de Basiniana (Grillo de Basigniana) left 12,000 *maravedis* for the education of his nephew Diego Castellón (Castiglione).[76] He also left his new copy of the works of Erasmus in twelve volumes to his university-trained cousin Lic. Jeronimo de Castellón to aid in his studies and so that he would pray for his soul.[77] Most of these wills only contain a small number of these particular bequests, leaving the vast majority of the deceased's estate intact for their heirs, a practice also consistent with Castilian testamentary law.[78] Nevertheless, some testators directed considerable amounts to the aid of their relatives.

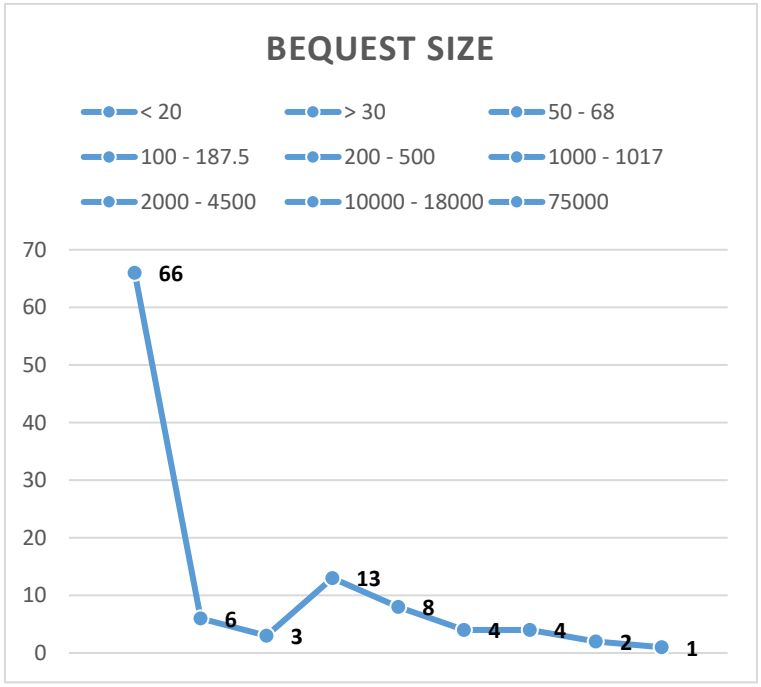

Figure 3: Bequest size of Italian testamentary charity in Seville, 1500-1555. Amounts in maravedis. Source: Appendix 1.

Two examples are particularly illustrative of the economic scale of this inclination. The first is the somewhat singular case of Luis Riberol, discussed above. In addition to his bequests for the general poor of Seville and

[76] AHPS, Protocolos, 19982, f. 1431r-1440r. Diego was the son of Grillo de Basiniana's cousin Bernardo de Castellon and was identified as his nephew in his will.

[77] Ibid.

[78] These laws permitted only a third to be concentrated on a particular child and up to one fifth to be disposed of freely by the testator. The rest had to be distributed equally among legitimate heirs. For a brief discussion of these laws, see Toral, "Los mayorazgos no creaban nobleza, pero contribuían a mantenerla."

the public debt of Genoa, Riberol stipulated in his 1513 will that half of the rents from his properties in Genoa were to go to support poor female relations with dowries, though they were required to be residents of that city.[79] The second case likewise returns to the Milanese merchant Andrea de San Julián, invoked above for his restriction of socially-oriented testamentary charity to the *mandas forsozas*. In contrast, the section of San Julián's 1555 will that outlines bequests to relations presents a litany of primarily female relatives whom he wished to support with dowry contributions. San Julián is so encompassing that he struggles to name all of them or remember how many there were that would qualify for his bequest, ranging from 50 to 500 *escudos* each, depending on the proximity of their kinship. (**Figure 3**) Beyond dowries, San Julián also demonstrated a desire to support the education of his relatives, particularly orphans. For example, he left the inheritance he expected from his brother Luis de San Julián, who had died in Flanders without a will, to fund the dowries of Andreas's nieces living there. He also wanted them to return to Como under the guardianship of his mother, who was to take them in and use the inheritance he bequeathed her to educate them "in the manner beneficial to *doncellas* of their estate."[80] He expressed a similar plan for his own eight-year-old illegitimate son and his widowed sister, all of whom he wanted his mother to take in, care for, and educate. It is these bequests to his relations that constitute the vast majority of San Julián's testamentary charity.

This sample of wills points to several trends found across Castile, Genoa, and Western Europe more broadly during this period. Scholarship on hospitals and poor relief in sixteenth-century Castile suggests that the preponderance of Genoese merchants' bequests to Sevillian hospitals was part of a larger thrust of institutionally-focused charity, which also manifested in

[79] AHPS, Protocolos, 9118, unfoliated.

[80] AHPS, Protocolos, 9175, f. 511r-514v.

greater administrative attention and the reform and consolidation of these institutions.[81] This was also the case in Venice, where over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "many Venetians gradually shifted their charitable bequests away from parish endowments and toward citywide endeavors."[82] This might also be compared with the ambitious effort in Genoa over the course of the fifteenth century toward the consolidation of all hospitals in the city under the oversite of the hospital of Pammatone, founded and organized by one of the city's premier jurists. The support of Pammatone's goals was such that the state not only relinquished its tenth of the tithe to it (for a small and far less profitable exchange of shares in the public bank of San Giorgio), but it also instructed the city's notaries to ensure bequests to the hospital in its citizens' wills.[83]

In addition to their activity concerning the city's hospitals, the Genoese also displayed an intense concern over foundlings, which became one of Pammatone's largest undertakings, though it had not initially been founded for that purpose.[84] The problem was so extensive that the government, together with Pammatone, attempted to register all pregnant enslaved women and would charge their masters if the child ended up abandoned at the hospital. Of course, many of the city's free poor contributed to the foundling problem, but Genoese authorities focused their preventative efforts on those coming from enslaved women, whose masters were more likely to have the resources to pay fines for the upkeep of the child. Florence's foundling hospital (the Ospedale degli Innocenti, founded in 1419), which "combined values that were at once religious,

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[81] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*.

[82] Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800*, 115; See also Romano, "Charity and Community in Early Renaissance Venice."

[83] Carpaneto da Langasco, *Pammatone: Cinque secoli di vita ospedaliera*, 49–50.

[84] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*; See also Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence."

civic, and familial," has also drawn considerable scholarly attention.[85] A similar preoccupation with foundlings could be observed in Habsburg Spain, where many cities "boasted an institution dedicated to this purpose;" that is to their care, education, and eventual placement with adoptive families or deployment as indentured servants.[86] These institutions were not the result of secularization, but rather the laicization of the later Middle Ages.[87] The growing involvement of the laity manifested in an array of activities from confraternities and tertiary orders to the devotions flourishing very nearly outside recognized sanctity.

In addition to these institutions accommodating and caring for children and the poor, the end of the fifteenth century in Genoa also saw the foundation of a Monte di Pietà, which provided low interest loans to the poor. This type of institution had been developing throughout Italy during this period and in Genoa it received the support of Pammatone (which administered it), the office of Misericordia (a charitable institution founded in 1403), and the bank of San Giorgio.[88] After a short period of trouble and near insolvency between 1522 and 1569 due to the French sack of the city, the Monte strengthened and continued to function into the twentieth century.[89] It has been argued that the rise of these institutions at the end of the fifteenth century indicated that a new "public corporate charity was replacing the alms and personal charity of earlier era."[90] This was a process paralleled across the Mediterranean, both by the activities of native Spaniards and the Genoese who lived among them for decades. Moreover, recent work on

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[85] Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800*, 117; See also Trexler, "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes," 85, 102; Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence"; Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence*.

[86] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*, 224–35.

[87] See the collected essays in Vauchez and Bornstein, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*.

[88] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*.

[89] Bruzzone, *Il Monte di Pietà di Genova*.

[90] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*.

charity suggests this increasing focus on the intersection of social issues and the individual's salvation was a larger European concern at the end of the Middle Ages, particularly in the sixteenth century.[91] This outlook on charitable activity seems to have continued well into the early modern period, given the similar focus of charity and size of bequests found in a sample of wills drawn up for Genoese merchants in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cádiz.[92]

The bequests discussed here illustrate the nature of these merchant's insertion into Sevillian society; whether they had obtained *vecindad* or remained *estantes*, they took an interest in the broader social concerns of the city in which they lived and contributed to causes more often than they did to similar institutions back in Genoa.[93] At the same time, the more kin-focused charity of these wills highlights the continued force Genoese identity had for many of these merchants. They often preferred to have their children educated and raised by family in Italy, stipulated preferences for family in Genoa, or kept the inheritance of their property separate between Castile and Italy. In this way, the ambiguous integration of these merchants emerges from their testamentary charity, a practice among many through which they intertwined themselves in the fabric of the city while reinforcing ties to their families and friends living across the Mediterranean.

Family Memory & Enduring Ties: Chaplaincies and Particular Devotions

The establishment of chaplaincies were rooted in the memory of an individual and their kin, which could continue to propagate a Genoese identity across generations and facilitate

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[91] Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800*; Pullan, *Orphans and Foundlings in Early Modern Europe*; Pullan, *Poverty and Charity*; Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism and Heresy."

[92] Brilli, "La importancia de hacerse español," 247–49.

[93] This is in marked contrast to what Amelia Almorza Hidalgo has found among the wills of Genoese merchants in Peru, who donated locally but in reduced amounts that grew increasingly larger the closer the institution was to Genoa. See Almorza Hidalgo, "El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú, 1580-1640," 911.

claims of social standing made by descendants, all of which reinforced ambiguous integration.[94] Chaplaincies often involved large sums of capital, often invested in *juros*, *censos*, and various other sources of income that were intended to pay for masses to be said in perpetuity for the deceased and their families. These institutions were increasingly common in Iberia and in Genoa in the sixteenth century.[95] It has been argued for other places that tombs within religious institutions could serve as mnemonic devices to aid in the memory of clerics charged with praying the masses paid for through chaplaincies.[96] These tombs could continue to make claims about the prominence of a family and serve as a reminder of their Genoese past. The chaplaincies are intricately tied to these tombs, given the intention to preserve a particular memory of the family, at least among the clergy that their institution funded.

They also varied considerably in terms of the funds needed to establish them, which depended on a host of factors including location and the frequency and number of masses or other services. Nevertheless, there was not necessarily a standard per mass amount to be provided in all cases, with the amount seeming to fluctuate as well in consideration of whether the chaplain was to be a relative or not. In this sample of wills, the largest was instituted by Marco Cataño, who wanted 50,000 *maravedis* worth of annual "rents that are certain and well established" to be purchased and given to either the burial chapel in the cathedral belonging to the Cataños, or to the Genoese national chapel in the Monastery of San Francisco – whichever he

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[94] For a comparative look at chaplaincies in Seville from the perspective of preserving the memory of noble lineages, see Cartaya Baños, *Mayorazgos*, 257–300.

[95] Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*; Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*; Nalle, *God in La Mancha*; Mingorance Ruiz, "Los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a fines de la Edad Media"; Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*.

[96] Again, for the connection of tombs with the extension of social memory, see Butterfield, "Monument and Memory in Early Renaissance Florence."; Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*; Karsten et al., *Das Grabmal des Günstlings*.

was buried in.[97] This income would cover the cost of a chaplain who would pray a mass and recite the penitential psalms every Sunday and on the "feast days of the year" on the altar of his tomb.[98] No other chaplaincy in these wills, however, is anywhere near this amount, oscillating more often between 1,000 and 8,000 *maravedis*. The smallest of these was instituted by Marco's likely relative Luis Cataño in 1506 in the amount of 1,000 *maravedis* annually in mortgages and leases, to be given to the prior and friars of the Monastery of San Agustin to say a weekly mass for his soul in perpetuity.[99]

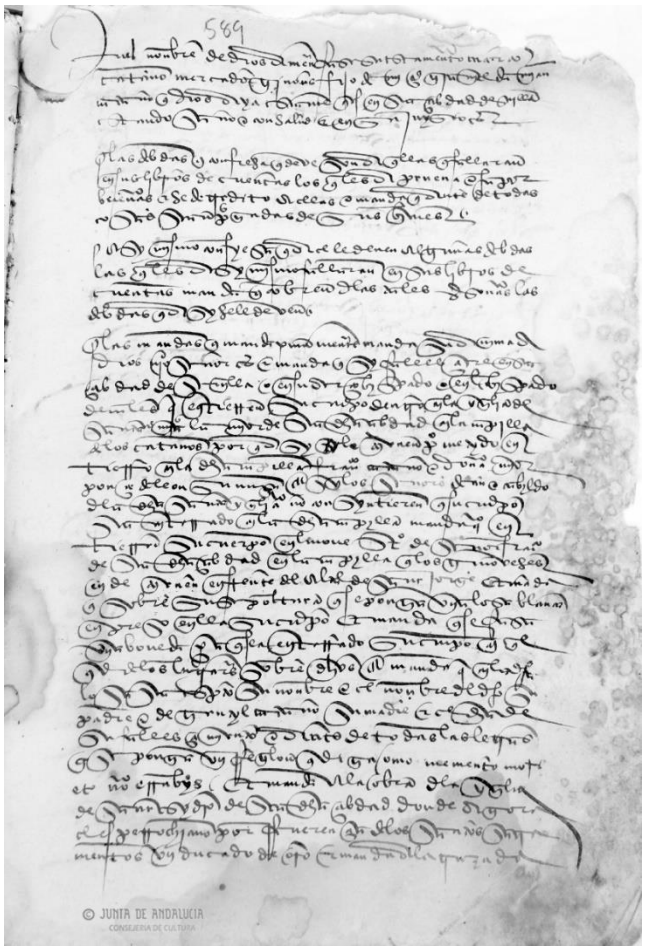

Figure 4: Will of Marco Cataño. AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, f. 589v.

Some testators may have already earmarked income from specific properties to fund a chaplaincy, as was the case of Luis Riberol. When he wrote his will in 1513, he set aside 8,000 *maravedis* in annual rent from houses he owned in Seville on the *calle Tintes* to pay for a daily mass to be said in his memory.[100] He also gave the option for any other Riberol to live in those houses in exchange for paying only the necessary 8,000 *maravedis* for his masses. If no one took

[97] AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, f. 589v. "tributo e censo, que sean ciertos y bien parados"

[98] AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, f. 589v.

[99] AHPS, Protocolos, 9103, f. 937v.

[100] AHPS, Protocolos, 9118, f. 679r.

him up on the offer, the houses were to be rented and the money to fund the chaplaincy taken from the income. The cleric Rafael Sopranis stipulated in his 1534 will that 4,000 *maravedis* were to be taken annually from the rent of houses he owned in the *collación* of Santa María, which was at that time leased to a Castilian named Gaspar de Cardenas.[101] This income was intended to fund twelve masses a year at the parish of Santa Catalina, but he also wanted another 1,000 *maravedis* taken from the income of each of the houses to be given to the Monastery of San Francisco and Santo Domingo de Silos in Seville to have one mass said at each annually for his soul and for his deceased family members.

Only one of the testators that left a bequest to establish a chaplaincy in this sample went on to name the chaplain and the patron: Luco Pinelo. He intended to fund a chaplaincy in the Pinelo family burial chapel in the cathedral with 10,000 *maravedis* in annual income for twenty masses a month in perpetuity. He further explained that 8,000 *maravedis* of that income would go the chaplain himself, and 2,000 *maravedis* would be given to the patron. The first chaplain would be the Castilian Lorenzo Sánchez, the sacristan of the cathedral, who would serve for the remainder of his lifetime, to be replaced upon his death by someone chosen by the subsequent patron, Luco's son Luis Pinelo. After his son's death, the patronage of the chaplaincy would transfer to the fabric of the cathedral.[102] The others in this group of wills did not give further instructions, presumably leaving the details to be sorted out by their family, executors, or the institution selected. The reason for this is not immediately apparent. As a comparison, of the eight wills written by foreigners at neighboring Jerez de la Frontera discussing the founding of a chaplaincy (out of a total of more than one-hundred fifty), two did not specify a patron, and one

[101] AHPS, Protocolos, 9791, 122v-125v.

[102] AHPS, Protocolos, 9107, f. 907r-909r.

of those did not specify the amount that would be left to fund it either.[103] It could be that the testator did not have the details worked out at the time of writing their will. More likely, the details of the chaplaincy may also have been written elsewhere and its inclusion in the wills is due only to the extent that they are to be funded after the testators' death with funds from their estate.

Chaplaincies thus provided the opportunity to memorialize the family and establish a relationship with a Sevillian institution that had an eternal character. These chaplaincies further enmeshed the family into the real estate of the city, given that they were often funded through the purchase of income-generating property, or in some cases the siphoning-off of some income from property already held in the city. It is also worth noting that similar institutions may have also been funded back in Italy instead, as was the case for the Lombard merchant Francisco Rigor. In 1553, Rigor stipulated in his will that two vineyards he had in his hometown just outside of Milan with an annual rent worth 72 *escudos* should be used to fund a chaplaincy to pray for his soul and those of his parents, wife, in-laws, and his ancestors in general.[104] To be clear, testamentary charity did not necessarily favor institutions in one city, but rather could take a mixed approach, as Rigor did with his extensive charity in Seville that bequeathed his entire property in the city to fund relief for the local poor.

It is thus suggestive that some of these testators should choose to fund a chaplaincy in Seville, an institution that would preserve the memory of their family in that community in several ways. The perpetual nature of these bequests required the continued participation of kin in the city as patrons. In the event the testator's family was no longer available, some stipulated

[103] Mingorance Ruiz, "Los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a fines de la Edad Media."

[104] AHPS, Protocolos, 9171, f. 370r-374v

the transfer of the patronage to the cathedral chapter, which would then ensure the payments continued to fund the masses. These payments were jealously guarded by the clerics who depended on them for income and the cathedral kept meticulous records of the funding sources of these institutions, which also preserved the identification of the founder and the beneficiaries of the masses.[105] Moreover, if property was later sold there were often clauses that required the new owners to take on the financial responsibility – though disputes over lapses indicate this was more difficult to enforce as time went on. In this way, the memory of the founder continued to be imposed on the living: on their family, the clergy praying for them, and the subsequent owners of the properties funding those masses.

In addition to the more expensive and ostensibly long-term ties created through chaplaincies, Italian merchants also developed connections with the community in a variety of ways, from the deeper associations rooted in familial or individual devotions to the more ephemeral charity of the *mandas forsozas*, or compulsory bequests. Some examples of the first kind of association can be found in the wills of Batista Justinian and Silvestre Vento (with whom this chapter began). Both had daughters who professed as nuns in the Monastery of Santa Paula in Seville, each with a substantial dowry in the tens of thousands of *maravedis*. In Batista's case his affinity was such that he chose that monastery to be buried in if he died in Seville.[106] The relationship could also go deeper, as was the case for a branch of Cataños who were closely tied to the parish of San Juan de la Palma. They had their own burial chapel there, where at least three generations spanning the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were buried. They were also

[105] ACS, 10648, f. 145r-154v. This list of chaplaincies instituted in the chapels of the cathedral of Seville was among the papers of the canon and archdeacon Dr. Luciano Negron when he died in 1606.

[106] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 340r-341r. AHPS, Protocolos, 9111, f 686v-688v.

prominent in the parish's coterminous neighborhood, with a number serving as its *jurado*.[107] However, a relationship to local religious institutions could also be established if a merchant took on the preexisting associations of their Castilian in-laws. For example, Amerigo Vespucci selected the parish of San Miguel as an option for burial because of the family tombs the Cerezo family already had there. Likewise, Melchor Grimaldo selected the parish of San Salvador because of the Monsalve-Tous burial chapel in that parish belonging to his in-laws.

These examples could be compared with the second way Italian merchants often developed connections, largely exemplified by the *mandas forsozas*. These were usually a single payment to a set of institutions in Seville often advocated for by the notary and had a sort of obligatory character to them.[108] There are also examples of testators contributing only to some of these or even none at all. These institutions were most often composed of the fabric of their parish church, the crusade fund, the Trinitarian and Mercedarian orders, the Hospital of San Lázaro, and the building fund of the cathedral (which included an indulgence). Moreover, when a testator diverted from the standardized bequest (*lo acostumbrado*) it suggests the presence of a greater affinity for a particular institution, even if it was one of the *forsozas*. For example, Luis Cataño bequeathed a portion of his estate to purchase a "*tributo e censo*" worth an annual income of 1,000 *maravedis* – the same amount he left to establish a chaplaincy, mentioned above – to be given to the Hospital of San Lázaro, so that the "poor sick people would pray to God for [his] soul."[109] It should also be noted that every will in this sample included a bequest to the testator's

[107] Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, 449.

[108] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*; Mingorance Ruiz, "Los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a fines de la Edad Media."

[109] AHPS, Protocolos, 9103, f. 936r-937v.

parish ranging from the standard 100 *maravedis* (or the nearly equivalent 3 *reales* toward the middle of the century) to a gold ducat, worth around 375 *maravedis*.

Overall, these bequests cultivated connections between these merchants and the many religious institutions in the city. Taking the wills as a point of departure, mapping these associations throughout Seville (**Figure 5**) demonstrates how much they extended broadly across the city's religious topography. The amount and character of the bequest, as demonstrated by the above examples, shaped the strength of that connection, but the act of giving itself nevertheless integrated these individuals and their families into the folds of Seville's religious life.

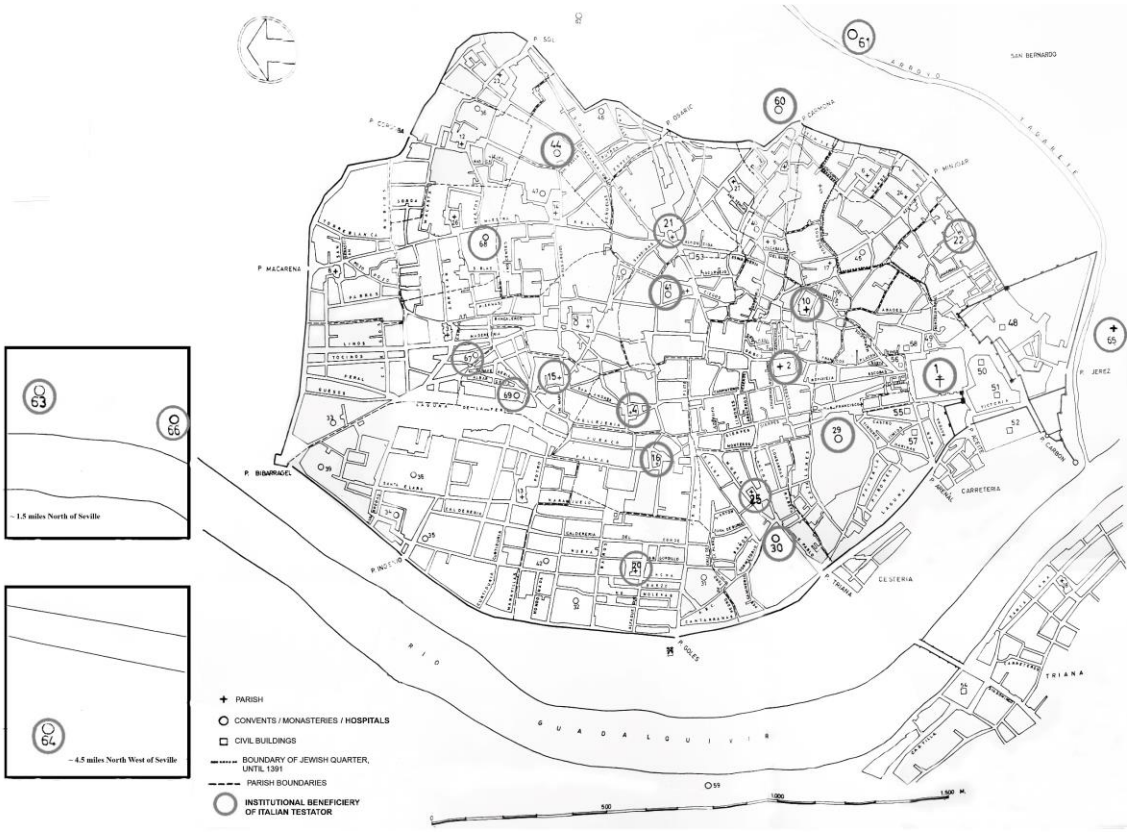

Figure 5: Map of Institutions Beneficiaries of Italian Testators. Adapted from Antonio Collantes de Terán, *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media: La ciudad y sus hombres*, (Seville: Servicio de Publicaciones del Excmo. Ayuntamiento, 1984), inter-folio leaf.

Key: 1, Cathedral & Sagrario. 2, Salvador. 4, S. Andrés. 10, S. Isidoro. 15, San Martín. 16, S. Miguel. 20, San Vicente. 22, Santa Cruz. 25, Santa María Magdalena. 29, S. Francisco. 30, S. Pablo. 41, Sta. Inés. 44, Sta. Paula. 48, Alcázar & House of Trade (Casa de la Contratación). 49, Ecclesiastical and secular council chambers. 50, Royal Mint. 51, Royal foundry. 52, Shipyards (*atarazanas*). 53, Public granary (*alhóndiga*). 55, Exchange (*lonja*) of the Genoese. 56, Exchange of the Piacenzans. 57, Wool exchange. 58, Archbishop's palace. 60, S. Agustín. 63, S. Jerónimo de Buenavista. 64, S. Isidoro del Campo. 65, Hermitage of S. Sebastián. 66, Hospital S. Lázaro. 67, Hospital de las Ánimas. 68, Hospital de los Inocentes Cosme y Damian. 69, Hospital del Amor de Dios y del Proximo.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates some of the more ephemeral and protracted displays and institutional bonds that integrated Italian merchants into the religious fabric of Seville. The participation of Genoese merchants in confraternities and public religious processions permitted them to insert themselves into the Sevillian institutional and processional framework, especially captured in the dramatic display of the community on feasts such as Corpus Christi which placed them behind their elected consuls. Yet, as a privileged and separate community they also set off on their own during Holy Week in a distinct penitential procession that bound their own national community together. They also established national chapels at various locations throughout the city that served as a focal point of their community and a place for their members to be buried, prayed for, and remembered. While their national character could serve to set them apart, whether as distinct buildings (such as the Hermitage of San Sebastian) or embedded within larger institutions that were also popular among Sevillians and an integral part of the city's processional routes (such as the Monastery of San Francisco or the Monastery of Santo Angel), these national chapels were an inseparable part of the city's sacred topography.

In addition to this, the wills made by Italian merchants in Seville reveal the way chaplaincies and charitable bequests facilitated ambiguous integration. That these merchants choose to focus their testamentary charity on a city in which many were not formally recognized as *vecinos* highlights the obfuscation produced by essentializing understandings of assimilation. This view, common in previous scholarship, has reinforced side-stepping discussion of such practices that break down the interpretation of this community as a hermetic colony. This is particularly apparent given the number of examples suggesting that bequests could very well have been split between different communities or concentrated on the institutions of Genoa or

another Italian city. These wills also provide evidence of expanding interest in institutional, socially-oriented charity, demonstrating these merchants' preoccupation with the needs of their adoptive community. The possibility of dividing of property and inheritances between Seville and a hometown in the Italian peninsula, as well as the preponderance of family-oriented bequests, show a continued concern for keeping ties with their home community strong, be it Genoa, Milan, or another state. Moreover, while they are indicative of the larger trends in charitable giving in Europe during this period, they also show the potential of these activities as the product and buttress of ambiguous integration.

One of the most expensive forms of bequest in the wills, chaplaincies imposed the memory of the testator and their families onto the living of Seville for generations. In fact, these chaplaincies functioned much like the tombs discussed in Chapter 2 to which they might be attached, serving as mnemonic devices for mourners and priests charged with praying for the deceased. The choice to have them instituted in Seville is particularly noteworthy, given the equally plausible potential of instituting these in Genoa, where testators also had family and associates that could act to safeguard their perpetual intention. The planned location of a person's death and burial were significant indicators of the individual and their family's position in that community, especially when their tombs and chaplaincies sought to extend their presence in the communal memory and direct the collective prayer of the congregation for generations to come.

Chapter 2:

To Be Buried in Seville: Burial Plans, Tombs, and Memory

When Francisco Grillo de Basiniana, a public scribe and schoolteacher in Mexico City of Genoese descent, commissioned a proof of his merit to be named a royal scribe (*escribano real*) in 1571, he gathered testimony from several witnesses to attest to his skills, wealth, and purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*). When discussing Francisco's father Esteban, one witness recalled the pomp of his funeral procession some decades before and the sanctity of his burial place as proof of his position as "one of the most esteemed" residents of Santo Domingo.[1] Meanwhile, in 1585 Julián María Brineli (Brine Palavicino) was suing to prove his naturalization at the House of Trade (*Casa de la Contratación*) in Seville. His lawyer (*procurador*) argued that even though Julián had spent his childhood in Genoa, he was a native of Seville because he had been born there and his father had lived there for decades, had died there, and was buried in the parish of El Sagrario that was built into the structure of the cathedral. His father's burial in Seville was integral to their claim that he had naturalized, a status they argued was then transferred to his son who was born in the city, an argument that was not uncontested for many of the so-called *jenízaros* that were born in Castile to foreign parents.[2] These examples highlight the importance that a good burial could have in indicating a person's position in their community, in these cases for families that had moved from Genoa to Seville and the Americas.

In addition to their participation in processions, membership in confraternities, and charitable bequests, Genoese merchants stipulated in their wills their desire to be buried in specific Sevillian monastic institutions, chapels, and parishes. This chapter presents several case

[1] AGI, México, 211, N.49.

[2] AGI, Escribanía, 1069B, N. 34, f. 9r-10v.

studies that look at merchants newly arrived and those with deep roots in Seville, taking into consideration those labeled either *vecinos* or *estantes*. It also provides some evidence of general trends drawn from the sample of wills also utilized in Chapter 1, which illuminate burial within Sevillian religious institutions as a practice that reinforced ambiguous integration across generations.[3] Lastly, the chapter explores the way some merchants and their families actively worked to shape the memory of their lineage through tombs.

Justinian and Salvago: Two Cases Tied to Monasteries

Two cases of individuals who sought to be buried in local monasteries are particularly illuminating, since both testators and their families exemplify ambiguous integration and give some indication of the way it changed at the end of the sixteenth century. The first of these examples is Batista Justinian (Giustiniani), who wrote a will in 1537 in preparation for his trip to Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola.[4] Batista was going to assist his brother in settling the accounts of a third brother who had recently died and was buried in the Dominican monastery on that island.[5] Though Batista and his deceased brother had become *vecinos* of Seville and Santo Domingo, they maintained extensive ties with the Sevillian Genoese community, working as the agents (*factor*) of non-naturalized merchants who consigned goods for them to sell across the Atlantic. The family was heavily involved in trade with the Caribbean, particularly in sugar,

[3] For a parallel discussion of the importance of burial chapels to maintaining the memory of a lineage in Seville, see Cartaya Baños, *Mayorazgos*, 263–69.

[4] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*. The albergo of the Justinian (Giustiniani) was formed by a group of families who had purchased the right to rule and exploit the island of Chios as well as the duty to defend it for the commune of Genoa. The families replaced their original surnames with Giustiniani in order to solidify the connection between them as part of a larger kin- and patronage-group.

[5] AGI, Indiferente, 1961, L.3, ff. 243V-244. Esteban had been the *factor* operating in Santo Domingo for the company headed by Domingo Forne and Agustin Vivaldo, two prominent Genoese merchants in Seville, in their sale of 4,000 slaves on the island. Vivaldo also left a will in Seville.

which was legally restricted to natives of Castile.[6] Such a role was one of the primary benefits of ambiguous integration.[7]

Batista made a serious effort to assimilate. He married a Sevillian woman named Brigida Maldonado, who was involved in his business affairs, and his daughter Magdalena (who tellingly went by her mother's Castilian surname) entered the monastery of Santa Ines in Seville as a professed nun.[8] He stated his wish to be buried in that same monastery if he died in Seville, or in the Dominican monastery alongside his brother if he were to die in Santo Domingo.[9] At the time Batista wrote his will in 1537, he was still identified as a "*genovés*" which, together with his business partnerships and kinship ties, demonstrates his ambiguous integration.[10] By the late 1560s Batista and his wife had died and were being claimed by their children as old and distinguished *vecinos* of Santo Domingo, without reference to the family's Genoese past.

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[6] For more on the economic activity of this family in Santo Domingo, see Pike, "The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World."

[7] For more on the benefits of assimilation for these merchants, see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 82–91; Brilli, "La importancia de hacerse español"; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)," 272–73. Luco Pinelo (further discussed below) may have also served as an intermediary for those legally barred from American trade. .

[8] A(rchivo) H(istórico) P(rovincial) de S(evilla), Protocolos, 9146, ff. 340v. Batista named her as the guardian of his account ledgers, the tutor and guardian of their children –so long as she did not marry –and as one of his executors. She may also have been related to a contemporary Brigida Maldonado who was married to Juan Kromberger, the patriarch of the German family of printers in Seville, who likewise played a role in the business after the death of her husband. See: Álvarez Márquez, *La impresión y el comercio de libros en la Sevilla del quinientos*, 13.

[9] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, ff. 340v.

[10] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 341r. He continued to be involved with Forne and Vivaldo and had selected Pedro Benito Basiniana, another important member of the Genoese community discussed below, to act as his executor together with his brother and wife.

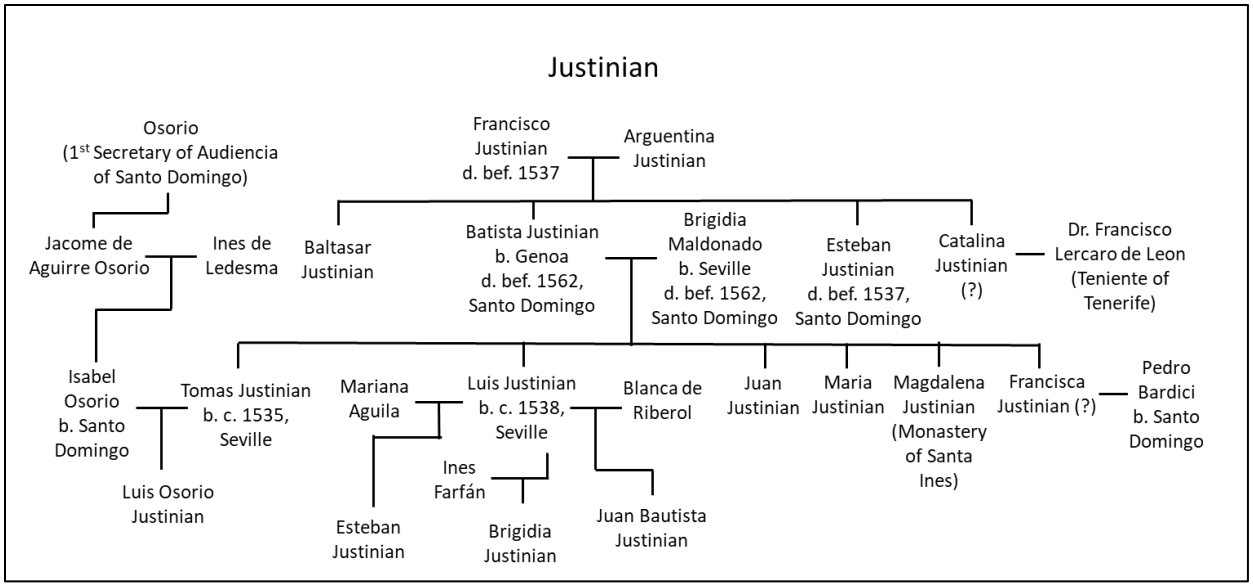

Figure 6: Justinian Family Tree.

Subsequent members of the Justinian family moved often between Seville, Santo Domingo, and New Spain, continuing to participate in trade, holding public and religious offices, and participating in military expeditions. (**Figure 6**) Batista and Brigida's son Luis was a merchant in New Spain and later in Hispaniola before his marriage in Seville to Blanca de Riberol, a member of another prominent Genoese family with deep roots there.[11] In his petitions to return from Seville to Hispaniola, Luis identified as a "*vecino* and *natural* of the city of Santo Domingo on the Island of Hispaniola."[12] He often returned with a small assortment of goods, slaves, *criados* (retainers), and relatives to take back to Santo Domingo – sometimes even getting royal agents in Seville to reduce his taxes on the slaves in particular because of his position as a colonizer (*poblador*).[13] In this way, Luis capitalized on his multifaceted identity to facilitate the movement of both merchandise and his Genoese relatives across the Atlantic. He also continued

[11] Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*. The Riberol-Sopranis became naturalized in overlapping successive phases over a few generations and were particularly involved in the conquest of the Canaries.

[12] AGI, Indiferente, 2050, N.2, N.59; 2051, N.73.

[13] AGI, Santo Domingo, 899, L.1, f. 258r.; AGI, Indiferente, 2050, N.59.

to operate with others in the Genoese community in Seville, though to a lesser extent than his father had.

Luis was not the only Justinian to do well in the Indies. Tomás, one of Batista's older sons mentioned in the 1537 will, was likely born in and lived for much of his early life in Seville but maintained a close connection to Santo Domingo. In 1579, upon hearing of the death of the current secretary of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, Tomás prepared a proof of merit petition hoping to get the newly vacant post. He claimed that his father had lived in Santo Domingo for forty years – either a well-placed exaggeration or he was considering Batista's visits to Santo Domingo a continuous residence – and that he and his father were "people of high rank and very honorable *hidalgos*," omitting any reference to their Genoese origin.[14] Tomás further argued that his marriage to Isabel de Osorio, the granddaughter of the first secretary of the Audiencia, proved his suitability for the post. His son, Luis de Oviedo Justinian, was also a merchant, the owner and captain (*maestre*) of his own ship.[15] The use of the surname Oviedo, and its pride of place before Justinian, suggests that by the end of the sixteenth century Batista's grandchildren could benefit by stressing their Spanish ancestry.

The more visible and liminal retention of Genoese identity faded among Batista Justinian's children and grandchildren after mid-century. It is possible that this shift is attributable to generational change, where succeeding generations of mixed Genoese and Castilian parentage may have been less likely to stress their Genoese identity and gravitate toward new Castilian networks. Yet the ambiguous integration of the family did not cease and they continued to maintain close ties with other Genoese and likely retained the memory of the

[14] AGI, Patronato, 50, R. 12. "*gente principales y muy honrados hijosdalgo*"

[15] AGI, Contratación, 759, N. 3.

family's past even if it was not claimed in their encounters with royal officials. The shift is not so much situated in the weakening of ambiguous integration as in the visibility and utilization of Genoese identity; essentially the extent to which it was liminal or dissimulated.

The naturalization status of those born in the Iberian kingdoms was debated and shifted over time between rejection and partial embrace. The 1565 *Recopilación de Castilla* stipulated that birth in the territory required descent from a native father to confer the status of *natural*. It is for that reason that in 1585 Julián María Brineli and his lawyer, cited at the beginning of this chapter, sought to make clear his father had been a *vecino* when he was born. It was also at that time that debate over the status of children born in the kingdom (known as *jenízaros*) came to a head.[16] The recognition of an individual and their family as *naturales* or foreigners could thus depend on whether officials and neighbors saw them as such, a requirement that was extended to the family's recent ancestors and included in Castilian legal statutes from the middle of the sixteenth century forward. The parallel here between the contemporary anxieties over *limpieza de sangre* and the genealogical fixation it engendered is striking, particularly given the evidence that this framework bled over and shaped the requirements of other legal categories such as *hidalguía*.[17] The shift toward dissimulating ambiguous integration may thus be better explained as a result of the particular conjuncture of the middle and late sixteenth century, when it became more practical in light of the pushback that may have been triggered by these merchants' earlier

[16] For more on the jenízaros (children born in the territories of the Spanish kingdoms to foreign parents), who were often denied full recognition as naturales, see Pulido Serrano, "Procesos de integración y asimilación: El caso de los portugueses en España durante la Edad Moderna"; García-Mauriño Mundi, "La precariedad legal de los jenízaros en el Consulado de Cádiz"; García-Mauriño Mundi, *La pugna entre el Consulado de Cádiz y los jenízaros por las exportaciones a Indias (1720-1765)*; Díaz Blanco and Maillard Álvarez, "¿Una intimidad supeditada a la ley?"

[17] Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*; Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*; Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*.

persistence in a liminal space in a society increasingly anxious about the clear identification and demarcation of others.

While the example of the Justinian family might suggest that these merchants were profiting unidirectionally from their relationships with Castilian families by utilizing their new connections to further commercial interests or obtain offices, the following case complicates this dynamic. Melchor Salvago (Salvagi), the son of Jerónimo Salvago and Hectora Grimaldo, stated in his will of 1544 the desire to be buried in the monastery of San Jerónimo de Buenavista, in the same tomb in which his father had been interred. There were at least two Jerónimo Salvagos present in Seville in the early sixteenth century; one was a *corredor de lonja* (broker) and *vecino* of Seville in 1496, and the other – most likely Melchor's father – was an *estante* in 1504. Both Jeronimo Salvagos lived in the central *collación* (neighborhood) of Santa María and had business dealings with Grimaldos and Franchis, while the second also had relatives in Portugal and Bruges.[18] In 1508, the second Jeronimo had become a consul of the Genoese community in Seville and by 1516, he was employed by the Count of Ureña to collect debts from villages and hamlets around Seville. [19] In 1519, he joined a number of other Genoese, Florentine, Burgalese, and Sevillian merchants in petitioning the Catholic Monarchs to enforce payment of a debt to them.[20] He may also have been the Jeronimo Salvago who litigated with the municipal council of Seville to secure his exemption from certain taxes, though it is unclear whether he was

[18] AHPS, Protocolos, 4886, f. 51v. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 2:156; AHPS, Protocolos, 8887, ff. 505r-505v. Partially extracted in: Ibid., 2:300–301; AHPS, Protocolos, 9103, f. 390. Partially extracted in: Ibid., 2:322; AHPS, Protocolos, 9106, f. 1095v. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 3:182; AHPS, Protocolos, 9109, f. 461. Partially extracted in: Ibid., 3:453.

[19] AHPS, Protocolos, 9108, f. 664v. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 2:391; Bello Leon, *Extranjeros en Castilla (1474-1501)*, 170.

[20] Bello Leon, *Extranjeros en Castilla (1474-1501)*, 170–71.

capitalizing on a reputation as a *hidalgo* or the privileges of the Genoese.[21] Lastly, he knew at least both Genoese dialect and Castilian, as he translated a letter of exchange into Castilian before a notary.[22] This Jeronimo Salvago thus remained ambiguously integrated: working closely with his compatriots and becoming a consul representing that community, while he was employed by the local nobility, developed fluency in natal and local languages, and arranged for burial in a Sevillian monastery.

Things changed after Jeronimo Salvago's death, when his son Melchor became the ward of the university-trained neighborhood judge Lic. Tome de Uceda. Uceda benefited substantially through his control over Melchor's inheritance in Seville. He also facilitated a marriage between Melchor and his own daughter, continuing to exercise control over his estate for the fourteen years that had passed between their marriage and the drafting of his will in 1544.[23] Uceda's considerable influence over Melchor is also visible in his role as executor and guardian of his children. Melchor named his father-in-law and wife as the beneficiaries of his pending inheritance from his cousin, the wealth he intended to liquidate from the sale of the Salvago family residence in Genoa (after the lease to a relative expired), and his considerable savings in Genoese money kept there by a family associate. The heirs to all of this were eventually to be his children, but this wealth would pass first to his father-in-law and widow to administer together.

Melchor's will thus reveals the transfer of this family into Sevillian society, their severing of ties with Genoa, evident in the liquidation of his assets held in Genoa and in the lack of any further associations with other Genoese in Melchor's will. Yet it is also clear that for some time

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[21] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*.

[22] AHPS, Protocolos, 9110, f. 647. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 4:88.

[23] AHPS, Protocolos, 9159, ff. 876r-878v.

before his will was written in 1544, he had managed to keep parts of his inheritance separate in Genoa. Moreover, although the family had been living in Seville for decades, they nevertheless retained ownership of their principal residence in Genoa. The Salvago family was participating in Sevillian society, fostering business ties with the local nobility and *letrado* class (those university trained, or who presented themselves as such) and participating in local religious life, all while keeping a foot back in Genoa. Melchor's guardianship under his father-in-law seems to have eroded these ties, further evidenced by his general lack of association with Genoese business partners. In fact, Melchor's will never states his profession or mentions his Genoese origin. This may be explained, in part, by his experience in Seville under the thumb of his guardian and future father-in-law. There is also a parallel with the case of the Justinian family discussed above and others in Chapters 3 and 4: that is, the deterioration of explicit ties with Genoa and Genoese identity beginning toward the second half of the sixteenth century. To continue to prosper in Seville, greater visibility of assimilation – if not dissimulation – seems to have been required.

Table 3: Burial Locations in Seville

Burial Locations in Seville						
Monastery / Convent San Francisco	Monastery San Jeronimo Buenavista	Monastery San Isidro	Monastery Santa Ines	Monastery San Pablo	Monastery San Miguel	Monastery Santa Paula
12	4	1	1	4	1	1
Convent San Agustin	Cathedral (Chapel)	Church San Isidro	Church San Salvador	Church San Andres	Executors Decide	Unspecified
1	3	1	1	1	3	2
TOTAL:	36*					

Source: Appendix 1

* Some testators stated multiple options for burial. Each mention of a burial option was recorded in this table, resulting in the higher total.

Both merchants in the Justinian and Salvago cases wanted to be buried in local monasteries, a choice with widespread appeal that reveals a point of convergence between them and their Sevillian neighbors: twenty of the thirty wills stipulated monasteries (**Table 3**). Certainly, the relative wealth of these individuals affected which options were available, but the proclivity for monasteries cut across such divisions. This was the case for Agustín Vivaldo (Vivaldi), one of the wealthiest Genoese merchant bankers in Seville in the first half of the sixteenth century, who wanted to be buried in the Monastery of San Francisco. Even if interment elsewhere might have been an option, the backup plan was often a monastery.

Of those who indicated a preference for monasteries, half selected the Monastery of San Francisco, where the Genoese had their own chapel complete with an altar to their patron, Saint George.[24] Some other Italian nations had specific chapels as well, such as the Florentine chapel in the Monastery of San Pablo.[25] Numerically, the second-most preferred site for burial was the Monastery of San Jerónimo de Buenavista, of the popular Iberian Hieronymite order. Three individuals requested burial here and a fourth proposed it as his secondary option.

An affinity for the order also helps to explain the appeal of these institutions. This was the case for Jeronimo de Grimaldo, who wanted to be buried in a Dominican habit in the Monastery of San Pablo.[26] The famous Florentine Amerigo Vespucci similarly selected the Monastery of San Francisco as his back-up, should the parish of San Miguel protest his desire to

[24] Marco Cataño, discussed below, selected this chapel as his back-up option if he was not buried in a family chapel in the cathedral. AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, ff. 589-591.

[25] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, ff. 638-641. The Florentine Juan Bautista Ridolfi stipulated in his 1537 will that he wanted to be buried in the Florentine national chapel in the Monastery of San Pablo.

[26] For a transcription of Grimaldo's 1516 will see: Otte, "Das genuesische Unternehmertum und Amerika unter den katholischen Königen."

be interred in a Franciscan habit in the tomb owned by his in-laws.[27] Both the mendicant Monasteries of San Francisco and San Pablo had chapels dedicated to a particular Italian *nación* where members of that community could be buried, which in part explains their popularity.[28] The chapels allowed them to maintain their connection to a shared Genoese or Florentine past within institutions that were also popular among Sevillians, incorporating them into the religious landscape. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether those who wanted to be buried in these monasteries had the national chapels in mind. The three wills that mention these specific chapels were drawn up for *estantes*, whereas the wills made for *vecinos* do not mention them.[29] Another explanation is provided by the long history of popularity that these monasteries had for burial from the mid-thirteenth century onward.[30] This shared preference may have even encouraged the identification of a larger religious community that united Italians and Castilians under a shared institutional roof.[31] Presenting mourners with a material and spatial representation of Sevillian society, the tombs were watched and prayed over by members of religious orders favored by them all.

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[27] AHPS, Protocolos, 19413, ff. 367r-371v.

[28] Castillo Utrilla, "Capillas de las Naciones." These chapels were not the only national chapels in the Monastery of San Francisco. Although she does not discuss Italian chapels, del Castillo Utrilla discusses the Iberian national chapels (Navarese, Portuguese, Basque, etc.) established in this monastery.

[29] It is not yet obvious why this should be the case. Perhaps those who had become *vecinos* had other options available, or it may be that only *estantes* sought burial in the national chapel because they were more interested in being interred with others of Genoese origin. Alternatively, it could be that the *vecinos* did intend to be buried in the national chapel, but for whatever reason did not explicitly state the exact location in their wills.

[30] For a discussion of Genoese burial practices and the rise of mendicant burial in the mid-thirteenth century, as opposed to burial in a parish church, see: Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*; For a more general discussion of the appeal of mendicant monasteries for burial, see: Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*.

[31] This institutional function of the Monastery of San Francisco in Seville has been recently explored in: McClure, "Worlds Within Worlds"; See also Pérez González, *Los laicos en la Sevilla Bajomedieval*, 89–91.

Catаños and Pinelos: Family Chapels in the Cathedral

Mendicant monasteries had widespread appeal, but there were other options available to those with the necessary finances and the position in Sevillian society. Close associations and intermarriage with the local nobility opened the possibility of interment in familial chapels in the cathedral and in parish churches. The key for obtaining a family chapel in the cathedral was to secure a canonry for a relative, an office restricted to natives and highly competitive. Burial in the cathedral was officially restricted to its prebendary canons in 1506, though exceptions for family members are not unattested.[32] Of the wills consulted, two testators referenced familial chapels in the cathedral of Seville, one in each of the only two founded by families of Italian origin: the Catаños and the Pinelos. Both families had deep roots in Seville, with various branches attested in the city from at least the fourteenth century. The Catаños had multiple connections with the Ponce de León – one of the premier noble lineages in Seville – as well as with their allies.[33] Although it is not always possible to establish the exact relationship between these various branches, there was nevertheless some form of kinship or connection via the *alberghi*, or political and commercial patronage- and kin-based groups organized in Genoa.[34]

In his 1501 will Marco Catаño stipulated his intention to be buried in a family chapel in the cathedral. Marco had received permission from Francisco Catаño and his wife Mayor Ponce de Leon, a daughter of the Count of Arcos, to be buried in the recently reconstructed chapel of

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[32] Morales Chacón, "Lapidario sepulcral en la Sevilla del Renacimiento," 86.

[33] See: Sánchez Saus, *Linajes sevillanos medievales*; Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World.*; González Arévalo, "Vecinos y propietarios: La integración de los italianos en las sociedades portuarias andaluzas (siglos XIII-XV)."

[34] The albergo of the Cattaneo family was one of the first to be formed in 1301, although they seem to have originally been a popolo family. The Pinelli seem to have been from an old noble family, whose name became attached to an albergo after the reform by Andrea Doria in 1528. For background on the alberghi, see Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*, 22, 233, 315.

the Cataños (dedicated to San Antonio). However, he did not specify his relationship to the couple. The chapel itself had been given to the canon Fernand Cataño for his family in 1478, exchanged for property in the *aljarafe* just outside the city. Before becoming a canon, Fernand had fathered Francisco, the subsequent patron, with a Castilian woman.[35] Despite Marco's arrangement with the patrons, he also stipulated that should the dean and chapter refuse to allow his burial in the cathedral, he wanted to be buried in the chapel of the Genoese nation in the Monastery of San Francisco.[36] Yet another option for burial may have been the parish of San Juan de la Palma, where another branch of the Cataño family that had produced a number of *jurados* and *procuradores* to the Castilian parliaments had their family burial chapel.[37] (**Figure 7**) Marco chose the cathedral and the monastery instead.

Marco had relatives in Seville since the early fifteenth century, but he had been born in Genoa to parents who were still living there when he wrote his will in 1501.[38] In that year, he replaced Sebastian Doria as consul of the Genoese community in Seville. He was also preparing to marry Blanca de Guzman, whose family was part of the local nobility (the Lords of Fuentes) and were Marco's associates in the olive oil trade.[39] Blanca's widowed mother María de Guzman had enlisted the previously discussed *jurado* Francisco Pinelo and his nephew Bernaldo to ensure

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[35] Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla*; Gil-Bermejo García, "Situaciones conflictivas"; Sánchez Saus, *Linajes sevillanos medievales*.

[36] AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, ff. 589-591.

[37] The relationship of this Cataño family to Marco or Francisco Cataño is unclear, though a later member was named Jorge Cataño Ponce de Leon, which implies a relationship to Francisco and his wife Mayor Ponce de Leon. Gil-Bermejo García, "Situaciones conflictivas"; In addition, the parish of San Juan de la Palma was also where Marco's first wife's family (the Fuentes) had their burial chapel. Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, 449.

[38] AHPS, Protocolos, 9101, ff. 589-591.

[39] AHPS, 9101, ff. 195-195v. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 2:50–51; AHPS, 9101, ff. 410v.-411r. Partially extracted in: Ibid., 2:79.

Marco's compliance with the terms they had negotiated for the marriage: namely, that Marco purchase "in the aforementioned city of Seville and its district, real estate in the amount of one million *maravedis* … whatever the aforementioned Marco Cataño desires to purchase;" an act which would bring Marco closer toward becoming a *vecino*.[40] It is striking that Marco's future mother-in-law would enlist the relatively integrated Pinelos to aid in securing his full assimilation into Seville's society.[41] This indicates that members of the Genoese community who had become *vecinos* could help facilitate their compatriots' process of acquiring *vecindad*.

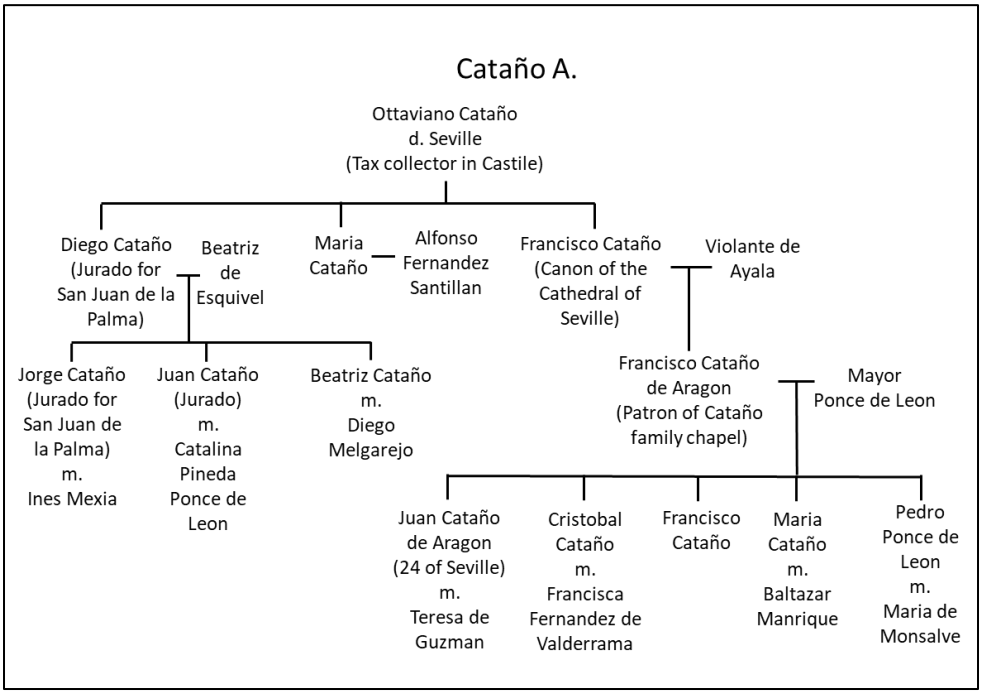

Figure 7: Cataño Family Tree A.

[40] AHPS, 9101, ff. 410v.-411r. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 2:79 "en esta dicha ciudad de Sevilla y su comarca bienes raíces hasta en contía de un cuento de maravedíes, y dende arriba lo que más quisiere comprar el dicho Marco Cataño."

[41] Cataño seems to have become a vecino by 1504. See: AHPS, 9102, f. 397. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016.

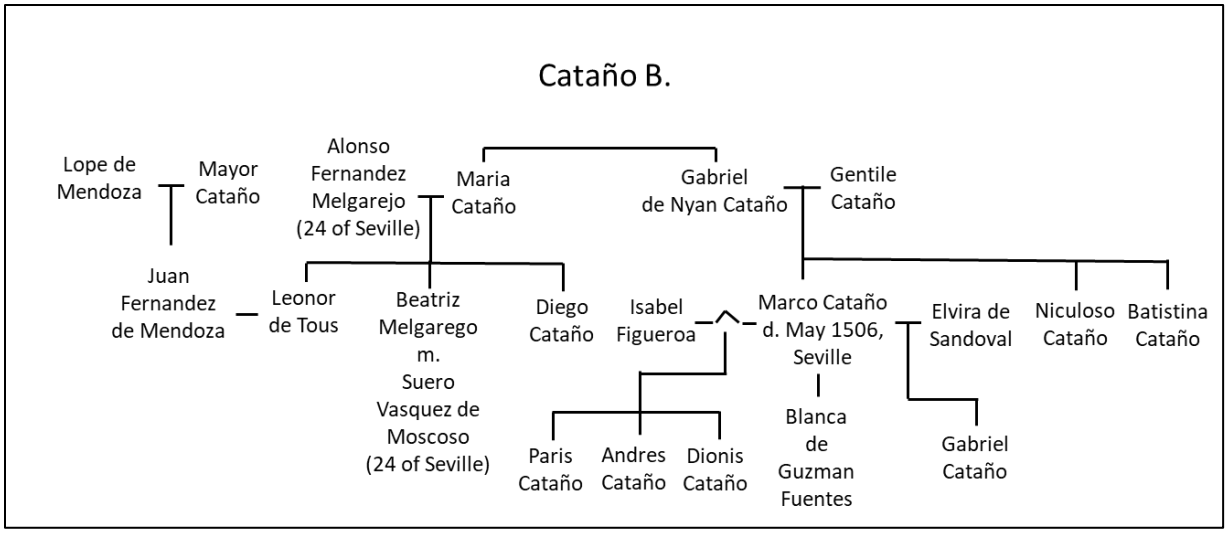

Figure 8: Cataño Family Tree B.

Purchasing property and intermarriage were often paths to naturalization along with legally recognized *vecindad* and can sometimes appear to be straightforward and uncomplicated requirements. Thus, considering Marco's activities surrounding his marriage as a straightforward strategy of incorporation into Sevillian society alongside his relatives obscures the more subtle ambiguity of his assimilation in practice. Marco's path towards full membership in Seville's social and religious world is quite clear given his intentions to marry into the local nobility (presumably accepting the strings attached to the marriage), his previous relationship with a Castilian woman (with whom he had three children), the general connections of his family to religious institutions and elites in Seville, and his desire to be buried in the city. (See **Figure 7** and **Figure 8**.) Yet Marco combined his marriages and relations with Castilians with firm ties to the Genoese community in Seville, such as serving as a consul of that nation, choosing the chapel of the Genoese *nación* as his second-choice preference for burial, or wanting his Castilian-born children to be raised by his family in Genoa if he passed away while they were minors. These activities could be liabilities if they encouraged his neighbors or competitors to call into question the extent of his integration. At the same time, they reinforced his ambiguous

integration in Sevillian society, benefiting from his entanglements with both native Castilians and members of the foreign Genoese community.

In his will, Luco Pinelo stated that he obtained approval from the *jurado* Francisco Pinelo and his son Jerónimo a canon of Seville Cathedral and the head ecclesiastical instructor of the diocese (*maestrescuela*), to be buried in the newly-constructed chapel dedicated to the Virgen del Pilar in the cathedral, which had been endowed by the Pinelo family in exchange for permission to build a tomb and to hold memorial masses for the deceased.[42] Luco and his brothers were members of the Pinelo family that became rather prominent as a result of the activities of its most famous member Francisco Pinelo – the brother of Luco's father Luis Pinelo, who remained in Genoa.

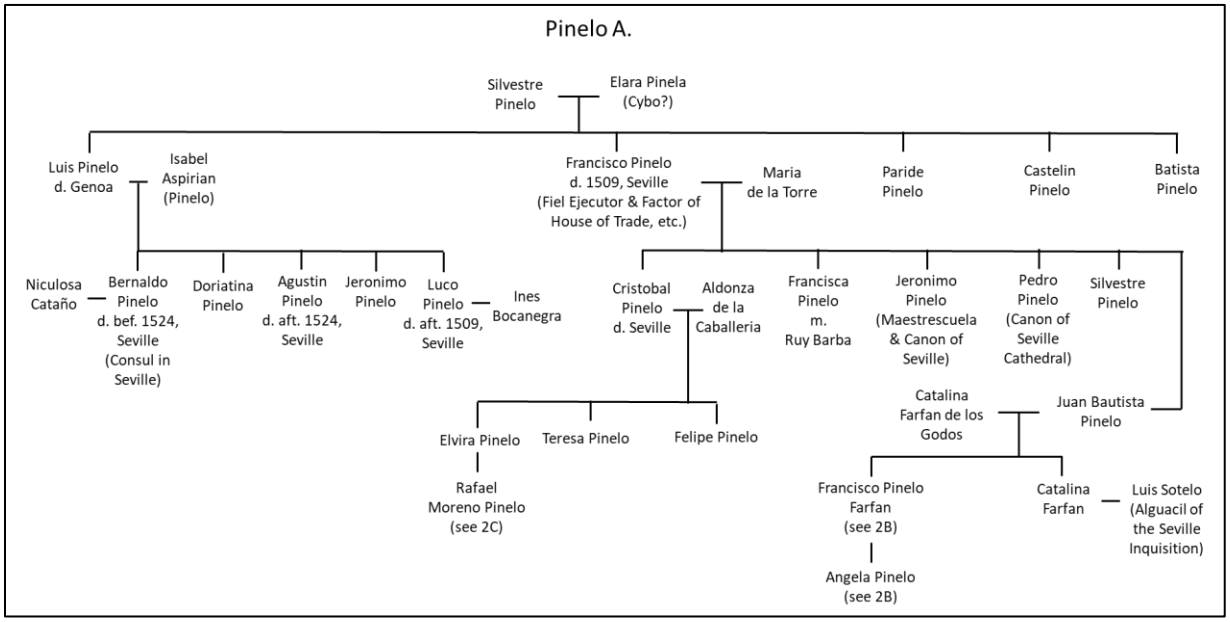

Figure 9: Pinelo Family Tree A.

[42] The Virgen del Pilar is a venerated image of the Virgin Mary, representing her first purported apparition to St. James while he was preaching in Spain. The image was highly popular throughout Spain and was the patroness of Aragon. In Seville, an image had been present in the old cathedral before being placed in this chapel, once the fifteenth-century construction had concluded in 1506. See a description of this chapel in Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla*, 433.

The family was related to Pope Innocent VIII (born to a Genoese family residing in Naples), who identified Francisco Pinelo (the founder of the chapel) as his nephew and sent him as papal nuntio to collect revenues from Castile and Leon in 1472. (**Figure 9**) Francisco eventually settled in Seville where he married, established a bank, and became a parish representative (*jurado*), the council's market inspector (*fiel ejecutor*), the first *factor* of the House of Trade, and the treasurer of the peace-keeping militia (Santa Hermandad).[43] Francisco also financially supported the conquest of the Canary Islands, Granada, and the first two voyages of Christopher Columbus, in addition to trading in olive oil, wine, and grain – all very traditional Genoese mercantile activities in the city.[44] Pinelo bought a number of houses just behind the archbishop's palace in Seville, transforming them into a palace where his sons (the canons Pedro and Jeronimo) lived before selling the property to the cathedral chapter.[45] Shortly before his death in 1509, Francisco was made a knight of the Order of Santiago, the most prestigious order in the Spanish Kingdoms.[46] His children also continued the family's assimilation into Sevillian society, marrying into middling Castilian families involved with the Americas, holding similar offices as their father, and joining prestigious military orders.[47] Thus, Francisco Pinelo and his descendants are often cited as emblematic of the Genoese ability to assimilate, yet they are also

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[43] Ceccarelli, "Francesco Pinelli"; D'Arienzo, "Francesco Pinelli banchiere del papa, collettore e nunzio apostolico in Spagna all'epoca di Cristoforo Colombo."

[44] Boscolo, "Il genovese Francesco Pinelli amico a Siviglia di Cristoforo Colombo," 252, 254, 258.

[45] Falcón Márquez, "La Casa de los Pinelo a la luz de nuevas aportaciones documentales."

[46] Although he clearly had a privileged position in Sevillian society, Francisco still got into trouble now and then. For example, in 1485 he had to seek a royal pardon for attempting to take gold and silver out of Spain with two other Genoese merchants active in Seville (Domenigo Centurione and Andrea de Odone). Bello Leon, *Extranjeros en Castilla (1474-1501)*, 89.

[47] AHPS, Protocolos, 9111, ff. 154r-v. identifies Francisco's son Cristobal Pinelo as a fiel ejecutor and jurado, just like his father. In that office he was petitioned by Bernaldo Grimaldo to respect his royally recognized hidalguia and refrain from charging him the excise tax on meat. For Cristobal's other siblings, see Ybarra Hidalgo, "Más noticias inéditas de la Familia Pinelo," 195–97, 207.

explained away as a rather atypical success.[48] That is not to say that Francisco and his family operated without ambiguity, which is highlighted in my discussion of their family tomb later in this chapter, but rather that the framework of ambiguous integration permits discussion of the two branch's activities to be united, whereas most scholarship has ignored the less prominent branch of the family resident in Seville. This renewed attention to the underlying similarity of a broader set of the experiences of this family is one of the primary contributions of the concept of ambiguous integration to our approach to communities like the Genoese merchants of Seville.

Luco Pinelo became a *vecino* of Seville and participated heavily in American trade, both on his own account and on behalf of other Genoese merchants whose residential status may have prevented them from participating independently.[49] In addition to his uncle's family, when Luco arrived with his brother Agustín in the early 1490s, he already had a third brother named Bernaldo living in Seville.[50] Bernaldo had been elected a consul of the Genoese community in Seville, was comparatively wealthy, and may have been connected through marriage to the Cataños – the other prominent Genoese family in Seville who obtained a family burial chapel in

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[48] Francisco Pinelo is one of the primary examples Pike uses to show what she called rapid Hispanicization among some Genoese merchants. Although a firm division between a choice in mercantile careers and bureaucratic and ecclesiastical careers is untenable, the evidence does suggest that these latter career paths more often led to greater integration and might even have necessitated formal naturalization because of the greater competition for such posts as the sixteenth century progressed. Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World.*. Pike's evaluation has been particularly influential on Anglo-American scholarship on this topic. As one example, see the discussion of the Genoese in Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*. For a more recent evaluation of the potential of these paths to encourage integration and naturalization, see also González Arévalo, "Integración y movilidad social de las naciones italianas en la Corona de Castilla," 381–83.

[49] AHPS, Protocolos, 9108, unfoliated. In the section of his will discussing his pending business transactions, he notes throughout that many of the cargoes he sent to the Indies in his name belonged in large part to other merchants. He also hints at the difficulty his executors might have in settling these accounts, given the many partners involved.

[50] AHPS, Protocolos, 9116, ff. 517-540. Not long after arriving in Seville, Luco seems to have had some minor financial difficulties. In 1495, while he was living in the house of his brother Bernaldo, Luco was hounded by a Benito Lomellini for payment of a loan. Although Lomellini had searched everywhere for him with notary in tow, he had not been able to find him. Luco's brother Agustin and their servant Diego were reluctant to aid Lomellini and refused to pass along any information to Luco. AHPS, Protocolos, 9100, ff. 282-283. Partially extracted in: Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla*, 2016, 1:293.

the cathedral.[51] Many of the business associates listed in Luco's will were also Catanos, suggesting that there was a close working relationship between the two families in Genoa and Seville.[52] They likely profited from the position of their uncle Francisco in their procurement of *vecino* status and recognition as *hidalgos* (petty nobility) in 1501. This status permitted them to be exempt from taxes levied on *pecheros* (non-noble people) and protected them from imprisonment and corporeal punishment in the event of bankruptcy.[53] They nevertheless seem to have remained much closer to the community of *estantes* and served in administrative positions among the Genoese community, rather than in local Castilian offices. In this way, the Pinelos were able to benefit from the highest connections and reputation of Francisco while also keeping the family tied to Genoa and their non-naturalized compatriots in Seville.

Luco's status as a *vecino*, his claim to *hidalguía*, the connections of his uncle's family to the local nobility, and their overall position in Sevillian society –as implied by their familial chapel in the cathedral –indicates a high level of assimilation. Yet Luco and his brothers married Genoese women, not going as far in their assimilation as their uncle Francisco by marrying into the local nobility. Luco's brothers Bernaldo and Agustín likewise chose instead to be buried in the Monastery of San Francisco, foregoing the family chapel in the cathedral nearly two decades after Luco wrote his will requesting burial there.[54] They also do not seem to have joined their

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[51] AHPS, Protocolos, 9108, unfoliated. Bernaldo was one of the Genoese contributors to the siege of Baza, taking on a share in the amount of 36,000 mrs. AHPS, Protocolos, 19725, ff. 251v-252v. Partially extracted in: Ibid., 1:164.

[52] Only one Cataño is listed among the potential witnesses called on by the Pinelo brothers in their suit for *hidalguia* in the royal chancellery in Ciudad Real, though he does not seem to have given testimony. Since all of the witnesses they called also claimed noble status, perhaps the *popolo* origins (translated in Castilian as *ciudadano*) of the Catanos in Genoa precluded their more extensive inclusion as witnesses –notwithstanding their considerable position in Sevillian society and affinity to some of the highest nobility of Andalucía.

[53] AHPS, Protocolos, 9116, f. 519.

[54] AHPS, Protocolos, 9132, f. 835.

commercial pursuits with government service or ecclesiastical offices to the extent that their uncle and cousins did.[55] Closer inspection of the business partnerships identified in Luco's will, as well as the claims he and his brothers mobilized in their suit for *hidalguía*, demonstrate some of the ways that he and his brothers approached naturalization with ambiguity. This allowed the family to benefit socially and thus economically from their association with some of the most prominent in Sevillian society while remaining firmly enmeshed in the Genoese *nación*.

The Re-emergence of Parish Churches?

Five individuals in this selection of wills sought to be buried in their parish churches. Melchor de Grimaldo, a *vecino* of Seville, stipulated in his 1521 will the desire to be buried in the prominent parish church of San Salvador in the burial chapel owned by the Monsalves, his wife's family.[56] Amerigo Vespucci did likewise with regard to the parish of San Miguel, where his in-laws the Cerezos had their tombs.[57] Marital connections seem to have been the deciding factor in these cases. The other three examples of parochial burials – Pedro Benito Grillo de Basiniana (1546), Tomas Cibo de Veletare (1546), and Andres de San Julián (1555) – simply stated the wish to be buried in "their parish."[58] Pedro was a *vecino* of Seville, whereas Tomas and Andres were *estantes*. These three appear to have felt an affinity to their local parishes, namely the churches of San Andres, Sagrario, and San Isidro, remaining firmly enmeshed in the Genoese and Milanese communities in Seville while also maintaining ties with family and associates in Italy.

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[55] His wife Ines Bocanegra was likely from Genoa. For more on the Bocanegra family that became Castilian nobility, see: Díaz González and Calderón Ortega, "Una familia genovesa al servicio de los reyes de Castilla"; Heers, "Los genoveses en la sociedad andaluza del siglo XV."

[56] AHPS, Protocolos, 9128, ff. 767-768.

[57] AHPS, Protocolos, 19413, ff. 367r-371v.

[58] AHPS, Protocolos, 9175, ff. 511r-514v. AHPS, Protocolos, 19982, ff. 1431-1440.

Pedro Benito Grillo de Basiniana is one case that demonstrates such merchants' ambiguous integration. He was likely born in Genoa in the late fifteenth century and made his way to Seville by 1510. He remained an *estante* in Seville for about "ten or fifteen years" and received a royal grant of the privileges of *naturaleza* in 1525, which he could also apply to his factors regardless of their residential status.[59] The Esteban Basiniana whose funeral and burial opened this chapter was that factor and likely Pedro's kinsman. Pedro was heavily involved in the early American slave trade, receiving a royal grant to take four thousand slaves to Hispaniola.[60] However, he also traded in olive oil from Seville's *aljarafe,* as well as sugar from the Canary Islands and Hispaniola.[61] Although he did not marry a Castilian, he had relatives in Seville who did.[62] By the 1540s, he had become a *vecino* of Seville, a creditor of the bibliophile Hernando Colón,[63] and eventually the owner of at least one *heredad de vinas* in Isla de Leon.[64] While he was obtaining the privileges of *naturaleza* by royal grant, securing *vecindad*, and integrating into Sevillian society, Pedro remained closely tied with the *estante* Genoese

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[59] AGI, Indiferente, 420, L.10, ff.16v-17r. AGI, Justicia,718 N. 8.

[60] AGI, Justicia, 741, N.3. He also appears to have had three indigenous slaves (Francisco, Francisca, and Ines), which the visitor of the Casa de la Contratación, Gregorio Lopez ordered to be freed. See also Pike, "The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World," 363.

[61] AGI, Justicia, 704, N. 6. Basiniana and his partner Bautista Justinian (discussed above) were involved in a lawsuit with *maestre* Gonzalo Sanchez over a shipment of sugar from Hispaniola. AHPS, Protocolos, 19982, ff. 1431-1440. At the time of his death he had partnered with his nephew Nicolao de Estela Cataño to ship sugar to Genoa, bequeathing his expected profits to Nicolao and an allowance to his sister Marietina Basiniana (the mother of Nicolao) of L.200 Genoese.

[62] AHPS, Protocolos, 19982, ff. 1431-1440. His cousin Bernardo de Castellon had married Francisca de Herrera. He was thus likely related to the other large Castellon family that became integrated in Seville in the late-fifteenth century. See Rojas García, *La práctica de los escribanos públicos de Sevilla*.

[63] Salva and Sainz de Baranda, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, 16:439 Grillo de Basiniana had the complete works of Erasmus in twelve volumes which he bequeathed to his cousin Lic. Jeronimo de Castellon.

[64] AHPS, Protocolos, 19982, ff. 1431-1440. He had given the income for this *heredad* to Rodrigo de Arguenedo, the cantor of the cathedral of Cadiz, and later bequeathed it to the cantor's nephew, provided he could pay the debts that had been incurred with Grillo de Basiniana.

community in Seville and his relatives in Genoa, choosing upstanding members of that community to be his executors and arranging for his children to be brought up by his fellow Genoese in Seville.[65] Pedro's case demonstrates that assimilative strategies such as naturalization by royal grant, the purchase of property, business partnerships, and larger family practices of intermarriage with natives could remain ambiguous, as he cultivated a position among the various communities of Genoese *estantes, vecinos,* and native-born Castilians.

Moreover, the growing popularity of burial in parish churches provokes some questions. Although there are two earlier examples, three of the five merchants who chose a parish for interment date from the late 1540s and early 1550s. These three seem to share the same reason for wanting to be buried there, stating simply that it was their parish, which suggests a shift by mid-century coinciding with the greater emphasis on parish identification pushed by some Castilian reform bishops and later encouraged by the Council of Trent. The importance of the parish also had deeper medieval roots and monasteries in Seville had to obtain grants allowing them to bury members of local parishes.[66] Many of these merchants demonstrated some degree of affinity to their local parish, whether they sought interment there or not: most requested that masses be said there and almost all left a standard bequest, the size of which grew considerably as the century progressed.[67] The desire to be buried in a particular parish where one was only an *estante* is also notable, given the previous requests by *estantes* for burial in monastic houses in the earlier part of the century.

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[65] AHPS, Protocolos, 19982, 1244v-1261v.

[66] Scholarship on the importance of the parish for Spanish urban society is vast. For a general view, see Valdeavellano, *Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas*, 543–45.

[67] Similar trends in bequests can be seen in Granada and Madrid. See Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 101–2; Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, 236.

Tombs, Self-Fashioning, and Memory

The tombs of Genoese and other Italian merchants in Seville helped to shape the memory of the integration of a family into Castilian society whose ancestors, while long gone, could still serve to anchor their families.[68] Attention to the self-representational and mnemonic qualities of tombs can elucidate the role they played in making claims about and reproducing a kind of collective memory of the individual and family's social relations, networks, and integration.[69] Considering the significance of the style, placement, and overall experience of these tombs in comparison to that of their Castilian neighbors and their compatriots in Genoa illuminates how they saw themselves and wanted to be remembered within Castilian society. The *desamortizaciones* of the nineteenth century are the principal cause of this deficiency, since the secularization and privatization of monasteries throughout Seville led to the disappearance of the majority of the tombs they housed.[70] Only a handful of tombs made for merchant families survive, essentially those that were located in places like cathedral chapels or a less conspicuous hermitage. Despite this, the surviving tombs created for those of Genoese origin give a sense of how tombs could reinforce ambiguous integration. In addition to those tombs that survive, the

[68] There is a parallel among the Genoese merchant diaspora in the Spanish Kingdom of Naples, elucidated in Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, chap. 7. For another complimentary case study of the use of charity and burial chapels as methods of integration, see: De Maria, *Becoming Venetian*, chap. 4.

[69] The work of Andrew Butterfield on tombs in Florence is one example of such an approach. Butterfield argued that there is a relationship between the production of objects, memory, and history in fifteenth-century Florence that reflected aspects of Florentine family life, such as the significance of family, kin, and neighborhood in social and political life. Among other things, Florentine families used tombs to formulate and record familial and social relationships. Butterfield, "Monument and Memory in Early Renaissance Florence.". For more on tombs as the extension of social memory, see Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*; Karsten et al., *Das Grabmal des Günstlings*.

[70] Many of these monasteries were repurposed as factories where frequent explosions led to further destruction. For an overview of this process as it occured at the monastery of San Jeronimo de Buenavista in Seville, see Garcia-Tapial y Leon, *El Monasterio de San Jeronimo de Buenavista*, 56–58.

plans for the design of a tomb laid out in some wills can provide an additional angle on the intentions of these Italian merchants and their families.

The most striking of the tombs that survive in Seville is the tomb of the Pinelo family in the cathedral. The most visible feature, at eye-level, is the carved and polychrome (likely restored) coat of arms above the epitaph. (**Figure 10**) The arms are divided in three, with each section alluding to a family alliance. The bottom right displays three golden pinecones on a red field representing the arms of the Pinelli in Genoa. The three golden crescent moons visible on the bottom left refer to the de la Torre family of the *jurado* Francisco Pinelo's wife in Seville.[71] The final, topmost section is a reference to the arms of the Cybo family, relatives of the Pinelos of Seville who had held important posts in the Kingdom of Aragon and were the progenitors of Pope Innocent VIII. The prominence of a coat of arms – itself a mnemonic representing visually the kinship ties of the family – is a feature that can also be seen in the Grimaldo tomb discussed below. (**Figure 13**) Moreover, arms also appear in later tombs of

Figure 10: Pinelo family tomb in the Cathedral of Seville.

[71] Falcón Márquez, "La Casa de los Pinelo a la luz de nuevas aportaciones documentales."

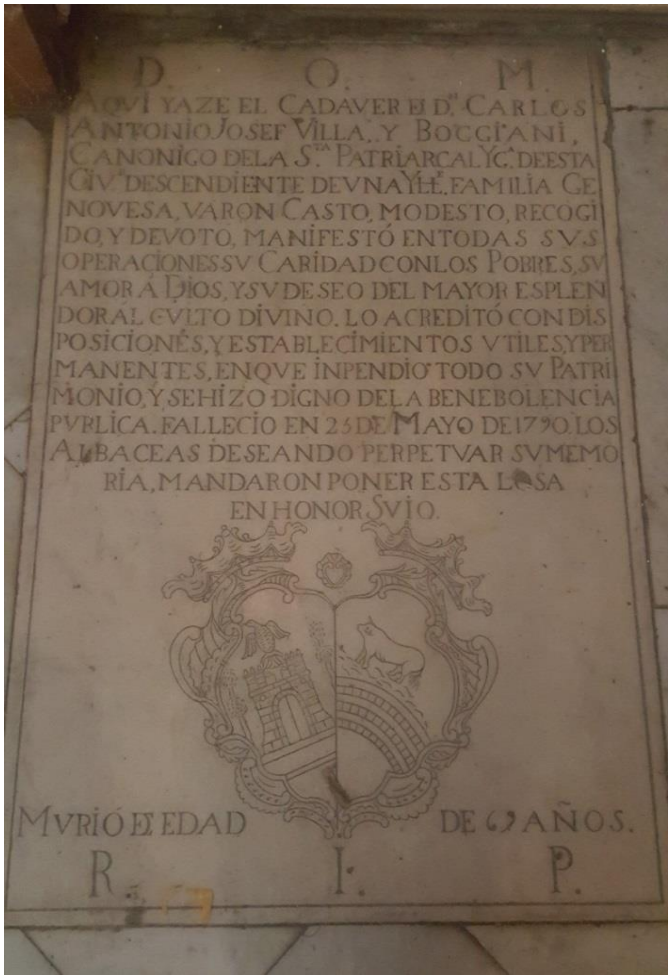

Figure 11: Tomb of the Villa & Bocciani family in Seville in the Iglesia de San Nicolas.

families that boast about their noble Genoese roots in the text of their epitaphs, such as that made for the Villa y Bocciani family. (**Figure 11**)

Directly below the Pinelo coat of arms, there is an epitaph in classicizing script. This is significant given that Genoese funerary sculptors played an important role in the diffusion of classicizing motifs and Italian mannerism for Iberian tombs.[72] The text lists the three principal members of the "very noble" family that patronized the chapel, their offices, and dates of death, noting that the chapel itself in which the tomb was embedded belonged to them. (**Figure 10**) The offices listed encompassed civil ones (*ejecutor*, *jurado*, and *factor* of the Casa de la Contratación) and ecclesiastical ones (canon and *maestrescuela*), highlighting some of the extent of the family's position among Seville's urban elite. The epitaph alludes to the burial of others of the lineage in the chapel, though there are no others listed by name except for Francisco, his wife María de la Torre, and their son Geronimo.

[72] Morales Chacón, "Lapidario sepulcral en la Sevilla del Renacimiento". For general orientation on the preeminence of Genoese marble sculptors, see Nicolau Castro, "La actividad de Juan de Lugano y otros genoveses en Toledo"; García, "Las esculturas encargadas por Carlos V a Leone Leoni en 1549 y su acabado en España por Pompeo Leoni"; López Torrijos, "Obras, autores y familias genovesas en España"; López Torrijos, "De la Superba al Señorío."

As mentioned above, Francisco's nephew Luco Pinelo stipulated his desire to be buried in the chapel in his will. The lack of specific references to the other children of Francisco Pinelo, their descendants, and their respective offices may be explained by lack of space or decisions among these descendants to be buried elsewhere. That the family tomb existed did not necessarily mean that subsequent family could or would desire to be buried there. For example, a great-grandson of Francisco named Felipe Pinelo, an alderman (*veintecuatro*), *alcalde* of the Santa Hermandad, and a representative for Seville at the Castilian parliament, was buried alongside his wife and children in the church of the convent of Santa María de Jesus, rather than the family chapel in the cathedral.[73] Nevertheless, the general invocation at the end of the epitaph for the chaplain to pray for the souls of the entire lineage worked to some degree as a placeholder, identifying the *linaje* as a collective for remembrance in the chapel.

Finally, it is telling that together with the information in the epitaph that served to integrate the Pinelos into the office-holding elite of Seville, Francisco is identified as a "Ginovez" first and foremost above the selective liturgy of his offices, some two or three decades after his arrival in Seville in the 1480s. Even this highly integrated branch of the family kept their Genoese origin at the fore of their memory in the design of their tomb, even if it appeared to fade among successive generations and other moments of self-identification.

[73] Morales Chacón, "Lapidario sepulcral en la Sevilla del Renacimiento," 91. Felipe's daughter Valentina was a nun at the convent and a mystical writer and poet. See Aparicio López, "Doña Valentina Pinelo poetisa y escritora mística," 390.

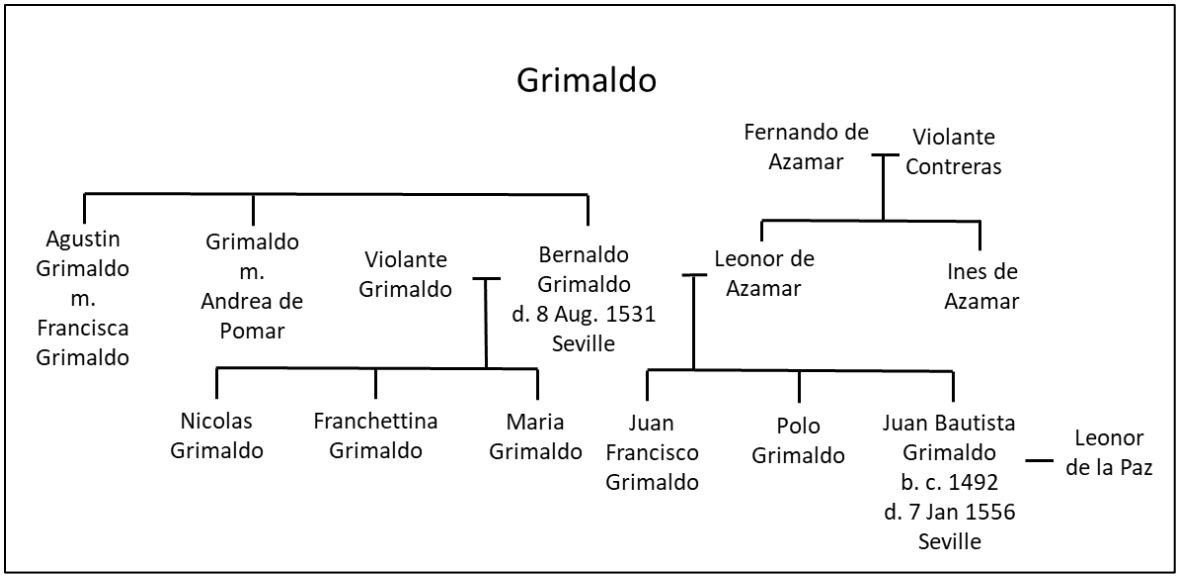

Figure 12: Grimaldo Family Tree.

A similar approach in design can be found in the tomb made for Bernaldo Grimaldo and his family – a contemporary of Francisco Pinelo. Bernaldo was born in Genoa early in the second half of the fifteenth century. He was married in Genoa to a Violante Grimaldo, with whom he had two daughters and a son named Nicholas (who would later sue for his inheritance).[74] (**Figure 12**) He arrived in Seville early in the late 1480s and had a rather prominent position among the Genoese community there, being one of the largest contributors to the siege of Baza and serving as consul. Bernaldo was also joined in Seville by his brother (perhaps brother-in-law?) the merchant Andrea de Pomar and they shared a house near the cathedral on the corner of Calle Alemanes and Calle de Génova.[75] Not long after his arrival, Bernaldo began to have children with a Sevillian woman named Leonor de Azamar and they began to purchase property together near the rural village of Dos Hermanas. He was an active

[74] Barbero Rodríguez, *Historia de la Hermandad de Señora Santa Ana*.

[75] AHPS, Protocolos 19725, f. 165v.

supporter of the village's hermitage of Santa Ana, becoming a member of the confraternity it housed and securing a location for a family tomb near the image of Saint Anne on the main altar.

Bernaldo wrote a will in 1511, the same year he received a royal letter of naturalization and legitimization of his Castilian-born children, stipulating his burial in the monastery of Santa Paula in Seville.[76] He must have changed his mind about the location of his tomb at some point between 1511 and his death twenty years later in 1531, since he was buried in the hermitage near Dos Hermanas. One of his sons (Polo Grimaldo) became a canon of the cathedral in Seville while Juan Bautista Grimaldo married a Castilian and was buried alongside his parents in the family tomb in the hermitage, though judging by the cramped placement of the text identifying him and his date of death, his addition to this tomb may not have been the initial plan. Like most of the examples of *vecinos* and grantees of letters of naturalization, the Grimaldos were considerably integrated into Sevillian society and they did not relinquish their Genoese identity.

This is not only clear in their continued association with members of the Genoese community in Seville, but even more so in the design of their tomb in Dos Hermanas. Much like the tomb of the Pinelos, the Grimaldo tomb is dominated by a coat of arms. (**Figure 13**) The choice of gothic script as opposed to the classicizing epigraphy of the Pinelo tomb is perhaps indicative of the tomb's invocation of an older style more popular among the Castilian middling sorts than the mannerism of Italian sculpture to which the canons and upper nobility were gravitating. Nevertheless, the Grimaldos made an even grander claim for their family in the inscription running along the tomb's border. Bernaldo is called a *noble caballero* and the Grimaldo family is identified as "one of the four principal houses of Genoa." (**Figure 13**) Bernaldo is not identified by anything except his nobility and the noble origins of his family in

[76] AGI, Indiferente, 418, L. 2, f. 174v-175r.

Genoa. Clearly, he and his son considered this part of their identity worth remembering and projecting to future members of the confraternity of Santa Ana.

Despite these examples where emphasis was placed on nobility and lineage, that was not the only style available and desired among the Italian merchants of Seville. Although he intended to be buried in the family burial chapel of the Catños in the cathedral, the tomb that Marco Cataño imagined and described in his will in 1501 does not appear there. In fact, no Cataño tomb is visible in the Chapel of San Antonio and it seems to have remained empty despite its continued association with the family.[77] Nevertheless, the description Marco included in his will gives an idea of another stylistic direction that these merchants could take in the design of their tombs. To begin, Marco wanted a niche built where a white slab could be installed that would have a *gisant* engraving of his body as the principal image, rather than a coat of arms. This may be attributed to the *popolo* origin of the Cattanei, though in Seville they do not appear to have operated any differently from their noble neighbors like Francisco Pinelo

Figure 13: Grimaldo family tomb in hermitage of Santa Ana, Dos Hermanas (just outside Seville). Photo Credit: Jesus Barbero.

[77] Madrazo, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de Espana: Sevilla y Cádiz*, 422.

Figure 14: Tomb of Alvaro Oberto de Valeto, a knight of Genoese descent. Monastery of Cartuja, Jerez de la Frontera.

and Bernaldo Grimaldo. Marco and many of his relatives married into the local nobility, with one relative even marrying a daughter of the Count of Arcos. Moreover, many Cataños also held offices in Seville ranging from *jurado* to *procurador de Cortes*.

While a coat of arms may be seen to give precedence to the lineage, the *gisant* would place Marco's tomb a degree closer with some of the higher nobility and ecclesiastical officials, which often opted for fully sculpted *gisants*. Marco may also have been evoking tombs like that of Alvaro Obertos de Valeto – a knight of Genoese descent, a *jurado*, and a founder of the Monastery of Cartuja in nearby Jerez de la Frontera, who died in 1482.[78] (**Figure 14**) It was also not uncommon for Castilian merchants to invoke this stylistic repertoire to make claims about their social importance. For example, in Burgos, the Maluendas and their relatives the Polancos used wall-niche

[78] See Cantera Montenegro, "Los cartujos en la religiosidad y la sociedad españolas."

gisants strikingly similar to those used by canons and bishops, becoming ever more ornate as their wealth increased.[79] The use of a *gisant* would have at least given Marco's tomb a different look than those made by his contemporaries Francisco and Bernaldo.

Marco also wanted an epitaph inscribed on the slab that would have become his tomb. In addition to identifying himself and his parent's names and dates of death – no doubt to aid the memory of the holder of the chaplaincy he stipulated should be founded for his and his ancestor's souls – he wanted the words "*omo memento mori et non errabys*" inscribed in pride of place before the subsequent inscription.[80] He intended to create a space within the general family burial chapel of the Cataños that would set him and his immediate family apart to be remembered by their chaplain. At the same time, the tomb would also blend into the funerary landscape of Seville and Castile more generally and privilege the conviction of a good death, increasingly popular among Christians in the later Middle Ages.[81]

Conclusion

The cases discussed in this chapter illuminate two things. First, they give a sense of the utility of burial in local monasteries and churches as a marker of the family's social capital, incorporating these merchants into the funerary landscape of the city. Second, the wills show that this approach was often accompanied by a constellation of strategies that joined assimilation

[79] For the extraordinary example of the Polancos, whose tombs were incorporated structurally into the stone retablo, or altarpiece, of the main altar of a church neighboring the cathedral in Burgos, see Kelley, "Proclamations of Piety and Prosperity."

[80] AHPS, Protocolos, f. 589r. "et manda / que sobre su sepoltura que se ponga una losa blanca / enpreso en ella su cuerpo et manda que se faga / una bóveda para que sea enterrado su cuerpo en qual- /quier de los lugares sobre dos & manda que enla dha / losa sea s[cri]pto su nombre e el nombre de dho su / padre e de gentil catano su madre e el dia de / su fallesçimyento e antes de todas las letras /se ponga un rreglon que diga *omo memento mori /et non errabys.*"

[81] There is a growing body of scholarship on the topic, but a helpful starting point remains Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, esp. 105-130; 303-310.

with continued association with other Italians, firm ties with their community of origin, and their persistent identification as Genoese, Florentine, etc.

It is striking that all the testators discussed here, whether *vecino* or *estante*, gave instruction for their burial in Seville, including those *estantes* who did not have a Castilian wife and otherwise seemed to maintain relatively firm ties with family in Genoa. Although there would have been difficulty in immediately transporting a body back to Genoa, it was certainly not impossible.[82] Its importance is also apparent when compared with wills that stipulate only that the testator should be buried in the nearest church.[83] This shows that the testators discussed here anticipated dying in Seville in the indeterminate future –at least seven did not have imminent expectations of dying at the time their will was written. Moreover, they did not anticipate traveling very far, since most did not stipulate an alternative for travel, who might stipulate a place at the destination or a general instruction for burial in the nearest church.[84] It is likewise suggestive that both *vecinos* and *estantes* participated actively in this part of Sevillian religious life, which fostered an intense concern with preparing for death and finding a suitable burial place.[85] Both their desire to be buried in Seville and the locations chosen illuminate the varying paths open for these merchants' insertion into Seville's religious topography and the role of tombs in reinforcing the memory of Genoese identity across generations. This continued until

[82] Hernan Cortes gave instruction that his bones be taken to be buried in Mexico together with those of his mother and two of his children all buried in different locations. Cuevas, *Testamento de Hernan Cortes descubierto y anotado por el P. Mariano Cuevas, S. J.*, 13–14.

[83] A clear example of this can be found in the will of the Venetian Andrea de Razi, who had been an estante in Seville in the first half of the fifteenth century. González Arévalo, "Del Guadalquivir al Nilo. El testamento de Andrea de Razi (1477) y la comunidad veneciana de Sevilla a finales del siglo XV."

[84] AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, ff. 340-341. AHPS, 9110 ff. 304v-305v.

[85] Some discussion of the *ars moriendi* can be found in: Mingorance Ruiz, "La religiosidad de los extranjeros en Jerez de la Frontera a través de sus testamentos, 1392-1550."

the middle of the sixteenth century, when liminality was increasingly questioned and greater dissimulation was needed to maintain ambiguous integration.

The case studies discussed in this chapter give some sense of what ambiguous integration looked like in practice. These merchants' approach to assimilation pushed back against the arguments of *arbitristas* and legal theorists that argued foreigners needed to sever all ties with their home countries in order to be considered truly naturalized. Likewise, the importance of privileges for these merchants and their contemporaries – be they political, economic, or cultural – further explains their reluctance to completely relinquish one set for another if they might be able to benefit from both. These merchants increasingly became incorporated into Seville's community through friendships, business relationships, marriage, and participation in the religious fabric of the city that helped to bind and define that community.

Part II:

Litigating Identity: Individuals and Families in the Iberian Atlantic

Chapter 3:

What's in a Name? Attesting and Contesting Nobility

Witnesses are ubiquitous in Iberian legal culture, yet there is considerable variety to what can be expected from their depositions. Many documents presenting witness testimony may contain little more than the general affirmation of a scripted question written up by a notary; repeating the formulae or interjecting a dreaded "I do not know." There are also instances where a witness seems to jump from the page by providing a wealth of information that may only seem tangentially relevant to the question at hand.

For example, a witness named Catalina de Origuela was summoned by the Inquisition in Puebla, Mexico to respond to questions concerning the purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) and the suitability of a man of mixed Castilian and Genoese descent named Rafael Moreno Pinelo for the office of Familiar – a secular assistant to the Inquisition and a highly sought-after post due to the juridical privileges and prestige it imparted.[1] Catalina had not been listed on Rafael's list of preferred character references, but she was a native of the same village of Hinojos, located in Seville's countryside where Rafael had grown up. In response to one question concerning impediments to her testimony, Catalina went on an extended discussion of Rafael's attempt to marry a mutual relative who had also been the sister of the local priest. She noted that he had promised the woman all of his property (*hacienda*) and that he could secure the necessary dispensation to marry despite their consanguinity. Notwithstanding this incident, she assured the inquisitors that it did not prejudice her assessment of Rafael as a man of reputed nobility and

[1] Cerillo Cruz, "Aproximación al estatuto jurídico de los familiares de la inquisición española."

good customs, even more so "in this land [of New Spain], where this witness has heard it said that he is a prominent man of many merits and of high esteem."[2]

In this way, witness testimony can provide a glimpse into the way neighbors perceived these merchants and their families, as well as the way communal memory could span the Atlantic. Moreover, the prefatory material provided by the applicants themselves can give a sense of the way they tried to curate their reputation for those investigating their suitability for certain offices. These accounts illuminate the practices of daily and family life (the *habitus*) that shaped reputation, as well as what these merchants stressed of their and their family's identity in order to secure a certain office or the *bona fides* of their elevated social standing, nobility, and purity of blood.

Witness testimony of this kind had an important role in opening or closing access to sets of privileges at the center of social and economic life in the Iberian kingdoms. A person's perceived identity dictated which privileges they could benefit from and which duties were required of them across a variety of overlapping jurisdictions, where ambiguity could be of strategic importance. The identities presented in such cases were largely checked against the way an individual and their family were seen by their neighbors and local officials, that is their reputation and ability to perform within a noble *habitus*. As a result of the reliance on witness testimony in these cases for *hidalguía* and *limpieza*, public opinion (*fama*) thus had a considerable impact on which sets of privileges and duties an individual could claim and defend.[3] While these social and legal distinctions could be claimed to preempt questions about their nobility and purity or as part of a standard procedure to confirm qualifications for certain

[2] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated.

[3] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*; For a discussion of privileges and duties, as well as the performative aspects involved, see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003.

offices, in most cases these were litigated in response to being purportedly mislabeled or barred from a particular privilege, as was often the case for *vecindad* and *naturaleza*.

So long as there were witnesses to support their claims, Genoese merchants and their families could maintain a visibly liminal position in their adoptive community, that is invoking their foreign identity alongside claims to membership in Sevillian society, even in the face of pushback from those questioning the extent of their integration as a result of such ambiguity. Thus, not only did they continue to move in the networks connecting them with the consulate and the compatriots while securing *vecindad* and *naturaleza*, they expected their neighbors and Sevillian officials to accept an equivalence of a certain perception of the family's status in Genoa with Castilian categories of nobility: to recognize and consent to their ambiguous integration. This chapter argues that the way these merchants identified and were identified in suits for *hidalguía* and proofs of *limpieza de sangre* is indicative of the greater extent of liminality that characterized the ambiguous integration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

These social and legal categories were gateways to greater privileges and distinction, the potential reduction of duties and protection in the case of bankruptcy, and a more stable vantage point within Iberian society for relatives and descendants. Many were successful in the eventual legal recognition of their liminality, notwithstanding the attempts of officials to re-categorize them through certain census lists (*padrones*) or their arguments in the subsequent litigation. The visibility of their ambiguity nevertheless became the focus of increasing suspicion as the sixteenth century progressed and economic, political, and social pressures converged to make dissimulation the more profitable route. The sixteenth and early seventeenth century discourse concerning naturalization and the pejorative representations of foreign merchants, as well as the status of "merchant" in general, coalesced at the same time as descendants or other relatives of

the same merchants that made fierce claims to Genoese identity alongside membership in Sevillian society decades before made little to no mention of their Genoese past in similar litigation or moments of identification.[4]

The memory of Genoese identity did not necessarily fade after assimilation and formal naturalization, a legal status which was not necessarily inheritable, as demonstrated in Chapter 2. To give another example, the Genoese Riberol (Sopranis Ripparolio) family, incorporated into the *albergo* of the Sopranis in the 1470s and one of the most active in fifteenth-century Seville, provides a good example of successive naturalizations that highlight the persistence of Genoese identity across generations. (**Figure 15**) The family already had ties with Cadiz and Seville in the 1420s and 30s as a node in their trade with Bruges. Four brothers – Gerolamo, Lucano, Jacopo, and Pietro Giovanni – had a variety of positions tying them to Castile, whether it was operating as an "official of Spain in Genoa", as was the case for Gerolamo, or as consul of the Genoese *nación* in Seville and ambassador for the King of Castile in Aragon, as was the case for Jacopo. By 1454, the four brothers were granted a letter of naturalization by Juan II of Castile.[5] This early success on the part of these brothers in obtaining royal privileges and a position in Sevillian and broader Castilian society did not result in the greater assimilation or Hispanicization of the second generation.

[4] Cavillac, "El discurso del 'mercader' y sus incidencias literarias"; c.f. Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos."

[5] Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, 241.

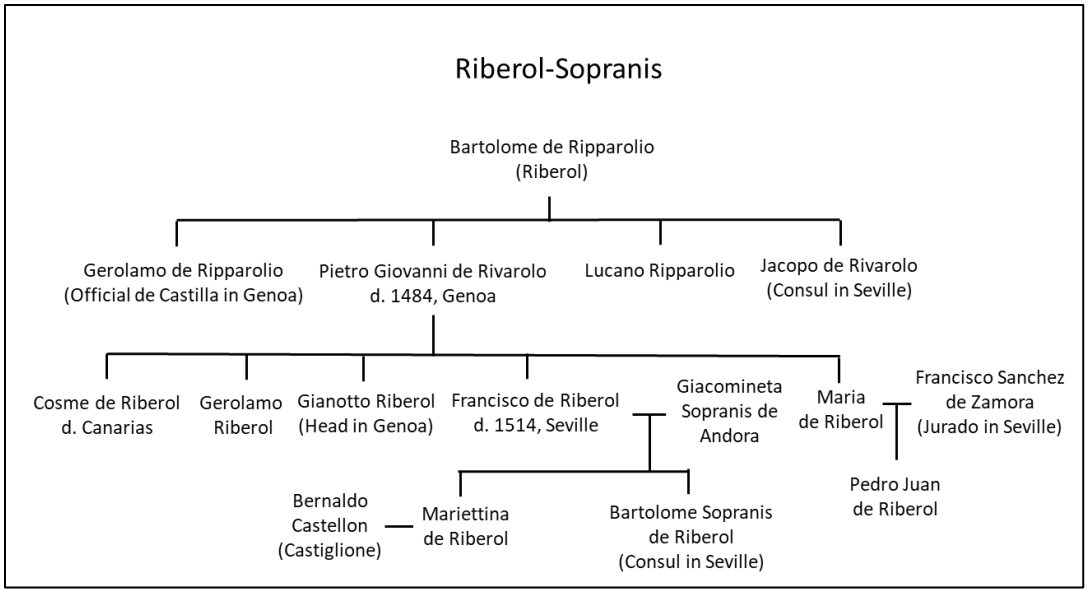

Figure 15: Riberol-Sopranis Family Tree.

Another set of brothers – Cosme, Giarnotto, Gerolamo and Francisco, the sons of Pietro Giovanni de Riberol – also operated extensively in Seville and played a critical role in financing the conquest of the Canary Islands and introducing sugar production there.[6] Although their uncles had extensive ties in Castile and their father and uncles had been granted letters of naturalization, the brothers needed to petition Juan II's daughter, Isabel I of Castile, for a letter of naturalization, which was granted in November 1492.[7] Claims to Genoese identity did not necessarily disappear with subsequent generations that had been legally naturalized and appear to be relatively integrated into Castilian society, which is unsurprising given that *naturaleza* was not necessarily inheritable and depended on the acquiescence of the community and local officials.[8] This is also apparent in

[6] Ibid., 242–45.

[7] Ibid., 242.

[8] The belief among Castilians that native status was not necessarily inheritable can also be found in the case of Octavio Jimenez Aldeano, who had been born in Sicily and attempted to reclaim the naturaleza of his great-grandfather. His petition was denied. See Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 74–75. However, as always, there was room for negotiation and some merchants in Bruges had no difficulty maintaining their Castilian naturaleza. See Phillips, "Local Integration and Long-Distance Ties," 45–46.

the way some Genoese families, like the Pinelos, Vivaldos, and others discussed in this chapter, attempted to capitalize on Genoese identity in their claims for *hidalguía*, which was certainly imagined as an inheritable status, but might be questioned in parallel with concerns about the family's *vecindad* and *naturaleza*. The cases discussed below suggest that increased pressure from the middle of the sixteenth century onward limited the resonance of claims foregrounding Genoese identity and exacerbated the potential effects of generational change. This shifting context was tackled primarily in two ways: either through greater dissimulation of foreign identity – visible in shifts of emphasis within such arguments – or alternatively, the renunciation of Genoese identity.

This chapter begins with an outline of the ideas of nobility in Genoa and Castile to illuminate how these categories affected merchants' attempts to navigate the prerequisites for social distinction and ecclesiastical and secular offices. It also presents a few cases drawn from the many suits brought by the merchants themselves that demonstrate the ways Genoese identity could be harnessed in such suits, emblematic of the liminal style of ambiguous integration. In addition to some references to literature, chronicles, and epithets, the case studies discussed here are extracted from a number of suits for *hidalguía* as well as proofs of merit and blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*), completed as prerequisites for particular offices but perhaps also pursued for the considerable fringe social benefits derived from the confirmation of these distinctions.

Hidalguía and *Limpieza*: Familial Status and Identifiers in Castile

Alongside the legal distinctions of *vecino* and *natural*, which were largely tied to an individual, *hidalguía* and *limpieza de sangre* were two aspects of familial identity that were often prerequisites for certain offices and conferred several privileges as well as symbolic capital in Iberian communities.[9] With regard to the status of hidalgo, two aspects are particularly salient:

[9] For more on the concept of symbolic capital, see Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*.

first, the role of the *alberghi* in Genoa in facilitating the claims of merchants in Castilian society, where lineage was increasingly one of the defining pillars of nobility; and second, the nature of *hidalguía* as a specific juridical sub-category of nobility that was litigable.

Though there were also a handful of examples of Genoese and other Italians receiving titles from Iberian monarchs, most Genoese in sixteenth-century Seville only contended for status as a hidalgo without a title. Thus, the juridical status of *hidalguía*, or the petty nobility sometimes identified comparatively with the English gentry, is the type of nobility most at play.[10] *Hidalguía* and *limpieza de sangre* were contestable statuses that in their own ways permitted some social mobility and became increasingly entangled by the middle of the sixteenth century. Through the accompanying privileges and social capital, they served to impose some separation between certain aspiring families and the tax-paying *pecheros*, who were blocked from certain religious and bureaucratic offices and institutional memberships. Nevertheless, by the middle of the sixteenth century, the growing expense involved in obtaining these patents as well as the merging of the discourses of *limpieza* and *hidalguía* served to protect the prestige of the ruling elite and "spearhead[ed] a 'refeudalization' of Castilian society."[11]

In contrast to *hidalguía*, however, *limpieza* was confirmed by a negative proof: the absence of any evidence of tainted descent, or evidence of Jewish, Muslim, or heretical practice. It may thus have been more amenable to those with obscure origins, who could only be investigated so far and were better able to sustain the fiction of pure descent. The confirmation of

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[10] For discussions of hidalguía as a separate concept, somewhat analogous to the gentry in medieval and early modern England, see Sánchez de la Torre, "Significación histórica de la 'hidalguía'"; Díaz de Durana Ortiz de Urbina, "La otra nobleza, la hidalguía."

[11] For more on the restirction of limpieza de sangre and hidalguia, see Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco*; Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, esp. 26-79; and Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*. For a reading of contemporary anxiety as evidence against a "refeudalization" and for greater social mobility, see Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*.

either status largely depended on reputation as well as several markers of distinction. For *hidalguía,* these could vary from claims that a family contributed militarily with horses (or able to be exempted from doing so), had relatives who held offices typically held by hidalgos, or had already benefited from privileges for a sufficiently long period (generally, alluding to "time immemorial" was a helpful route).[12] The applicability of certain ideals attributed to the nobility, however, could also affect a particular family's reputation, and thus the strength of their claim to *hidalguía*.[13] Nobles in general were imagined as wealthy rentiers, whose economic and social position were sustained through inheritance, service to the monarchy in government offices or war, and from estates that were often entailed (*mayorazgos*).[14] Wealth gained from trade, which was considered the primary source of wealth for the Genoese and other Italian merchants, was looked at less favorably. The city council of Seville argued in 1524, for example:

> that in the thirty years that the aforesaid Agustín has lived in our kingdoms, he has had a shop (*casa*), business (*negocios*), and trade (*contratación*), and it appears that the nobility which Agustín de Vivaldo purports that he, his father, and grandfather have had in Genoa is a very different thing than the *hidalguía* of Spain and [that of] the *hijosdalgo de solar conocido* [those whose lineage was intertwined with a particular property, or *solar*].[15]

Although there was certainly much prejudice against those colored as ambitious upstarts, the council also made a fair point about the potential trouble that ennobling practicing merchant-bankers could cause since, as hidalgos they would be exempt from arrest and punishment if they

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[12] Michael Crawford observed a shift in the sixteenth century toward increasingly proving claims by genealogical arguments as opposed to references to service, as well as the potent influence of social ties for successful cases. Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*; See also Renton, "The Knight with No Horse."

[13] This is reminiscent of the way that limpieza depended on a mix of genealogy and the reputation of a family as viewed through their cultural identity and observed practices. See Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*.

[14] Toral, "Los mayorazgos no creaban nobleza, pero contribuían a mantenerla."

[15] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 14r. "que en los treinta años que ha vivido el dho Agustín en nuestros reinos e tenido casa y negocios y contrataciónes y Hera de considerar que era muy diferente cosa la nobleza que pretendía tener el dho Agustín de Vivaldo e su padre e abuelo en Génova con la hidalguía de España de los hijosdalgo de solar conocido."

defaulted on their debts.[16] Arguments in this vein were not necessarily enough to disintegrate a petitioner's claim and in fact the judges of the Royal Chancellery of Granada were not convinced by the repeated arguments of the city council of Seville, which they contended "proved nothing."[17] It seems that witness testimony provided more weighty proof than arguments alone, though there are many other reasons the judges might have decided for one claimant over another that are not stated within the decision itself.

More recent scholarship based on a selection of suits for *hidalguía* and the statutes governing the military orders in the Spanish kingdoms – yet another, more prestigious marker of nobility – has argued that there was not a firm distinction between merchants and hidalgos. Rather, it suggests that the *hidalguía* of merchants was measured according to a hierarchy, where the higher-level merchants and bankers were not excluded from coveted membership in the Spanish military orders because of the source of their wealth. Only merchants who worked in a shop were ineligible for membership in these orders.[18] Many were still challenged by city councils looking to protect their tax base, which labeled merchants, suspected *conversos*, newcomers to the city, and those returning after long periods away as false hidalgos.[19]

Some scholars have argued that the ideals governing nobility across the Mediterranean were somewhat different from what was identified as the traditional values of the Spanish nobility, stating that the Genoese, and to a lesser extent other Italians, valued wealth as a marker

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[16] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 14v. "e naciera de aquí otro gran inconveniente que como el dho Agustín de Vivaldo e otros muchos ginoveses son mercaderes e tengan muchas negociaciones y ventas en nuestros reinos fácilmente podrían perjudicar a muchos de ellos naturales de devaleer sus haciendas sin las poder cobrar ygualandose los dhos mercaderes que se dicen nobles con los hijosdalgo de nuestros reinos"

[17] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 15r.

[18] Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos," 50.

[19] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*. For more on anxieties about false hidalgos and the social instability they were feared to cause, see Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*.

of nobility above all else and viewed its acquisition as an end in itself.[20] This was likely a prevalent contemporary opinion. As an example, a witness testifying to the *hidalguía* of the wealthy merchant Agustín Vivaldo (Vivaldi) had to explain somewhat forcefully that in Genoa "the *populares*, no matter how wealthy they were, are not called nobles because it is publicly and notoriously known [who has that status]."[21] This was likely in response to arguments that wealthy merchants could purchase nobility in Genoa, which apparently invalidated their claim that it was transferable to Castile and its brand of immemorial *hidalguía*.

The situation in Genoa was somewhat more complicated. On the one hand, there was the old nobility descended from the feudal families of the region with the Doria, Spinola, Grimaldi, and Fieschi foremost among them. From the twelfth century forward, these nobles had been enticed systematically to live in the city and "swear fidelity forever to San Siro and the people of Genoa." [22] This was accomplished either in exchange for privileges and payments, or after their resistance was crushed militarily by the city. There were also the "civic nobles, called *Cappellazzi* because of their desire to wear the ducal hat – families like the Adorno and Fregoso – [who] were in high communal office before 1330."[23] This group of old and new nobility was often set against those denominated the *popolo* (the people), whose leaders were drawn from the wealthiest merchants and bankers that had become "wealthy from 1330 to 1528, [and were] called the *popolo grasso*," but they were also heavily dependent on the craft guilds and others denominated the *popolo minuto*. The elite members of the *popolo grasso* were at times

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[20] Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure; the Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World.*, 5–7; Pike, "The Image of the Genoese in Golden Age of Literature," 707.

[21] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 8r. "que los populares, por muy ricos que sean, no los llaman nobles porque es público e notorio."

[22] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*, 42.

[23] Ibid., 289.

incorporated into the civic nobility, as was the case for the eight families that formed the *albergo* of the Centurione in the late-fourteenth century.[24] The nobility in Genoa became essentially closed during the early sixteenth century, restricted to those who were inscribed in the *Liber Civitatis* or *Golden Book*, apart from the periodic additions of families drawn from the *popolo grasso*.[25]

Nevertheless, the most salient feature of Genoese society was the formation of *alberghi*, especially after their regularization through the reforms completed under Andrea Doria in 1528. The *alberghi* have been defined as "an extended clan, held together by agnatic ties, the members of a house acting together in politics and commerce [with] supporters and clients from other social groups buttress[ing] the noble core…"[26] The aforementioned reforms of 1528 fixed the number of *alberghi* at twenty-eight, with at least six heads of families within each. These groupings, tied to specific neighborhoods within the city, could also be rooted in kinship. A considerable number of Genoese client members took the name of the noble family at the head of the *albergo*, especially while abroad.[27] In a society such as Castile's, where particular emphasis was placed on the lineage as a defining factor of nobility, the potential of the *alberghi* to elide the distinctions between a particular family and the noble one that headed their *albergo* was a considerable contribution to the reputed nobility associated with the Genoese abroad.

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[24] Enseñat de Villalonga, "Orígenes y trayectoria de la familia genovesa Centurione Becchignone y su vinculación a España (1360-1525)," 3.

[25] Grendi, *La Repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi*.

[26] Epstein, *Genoa & the Genoese, 958-1528*, 23, 233, 315; See also Grendi, "Profilo storico degli alberghi genovesi."

[27] van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa*. This changed after a civil war in 1576, when families returned to using their own surnames. A proliferation and greater variety of surnames can be found in Castilian documents from the end of the sixteenth century onward. Ben Yessef Garfia, "Una familia genovesa entre la república y la monarquía hispánica," 31.

Chronicles and epithets highlight some of the ways Genoese merchants were characterized as possessors of a certain nobility, which varied to some extent in accordance with the perceived wealth of the merchant.[28] For example, in his work on the nobility of Andalucía published in 1588, Gonzalo Argote de Molina highlighted the privileged position of the Genoese, present from the conquest of the city and represented by a consulate that had in previous times enjoyed "considerable jurisdiction with great privileges from the Kings, although now they only conserve the name."[29] The ostensible decline of the consulate is further supported by the work of scholars that has highlighted the difficulties it faced in protecting their merchants, in contrast to the Flemish and the French consulates at the end of the sixteenth century.[30] Argote also provided a long list of Genoese families whose descendants comprised "illustrious houses and entailments" and "lineages of hidalgos [and the] great nobility of [those called] *caballeros*," including Catanos, Pinelos, Salvagos, and Negrónes.[31] Of course, Argote de Molina's description of these families should be weighed against his general tendency to inflate the status of those that he wrote about in order to assist with claims to *hidalguía* being litigated at that time.[32] The

[28] Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos," 53–56.

[29] Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, fols. 244–246.

[30] Collado Villalta, "La Nación Genovesa en la Sevilla de la Carrera de Indias: declive mercantil y perdida de la autonomía consular"; Díaz Blanco and Fernández Chaves, "Una élite en la sombra". In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the consulate (even after the shift toward Cadiz) faced even greater difficulties as the most successful merchants distanced themselves officially from the institution in order to preserve their claims to naturaleza. These naturalized merchants continued to have a say in the community's correspondence with the government of Genoa, complaining about the lack of leaders to serve as consuls and the lack of funding necessary to attract capable leaders to the posts. For more on the later history of the consulate and its membership in Seville and Cadiz, see Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*. A contrasting case can be found in the Castilian consulate in Bruges, whose members increasingly became tied to the city over succeeding generations beginning in the sixteenth century. Their integration (though still living under Castilian law via their consulate) undergirded the survival of the consulate into the seventeenth century, long after the wool trade that had originally spawned it had dissipated. Phillips, "Local Integration and Long-Distance Ties."

[31] Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, fols. 244–246.

[32] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*, 153–57.

Negrón family was one such example, who were also prominently represented in Francisco Pacheco's *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de illustres y memorables varones* (1599) with renditions of the portraits of Lic. Carlos de Negrón (**Figure 16**) and his son Dr. Luciano de Negrón **(Figure 17**) accompanied by favorable eulogies praising their "clear and notorious nobility," their good deaths and burials, and their educational and bureaucratic achievements.[33] In the same vein as Argote de Molina, Pacheco even cited the purported remote ancestors of the Negrón family, who had been consuls in Genoa and claimed that the family had been part of the nobility for over seven hundred years. Pacheco also made it clear in his eulogy what were considered the important measures of a virtuous and well-remembered life: "Felicity in lineage, birth, and country. Felicity in consort and children… Felicity in offices and reputation. Felicity in a good death and glorious name and memory (*fama*)."[34] In Pacheco's estimation, Carlos Negrón embodied all of these. Like the Pinelo and Cataño families in Seville, by the second and third generations the Negrón family had become part of the local elite through their success in

Figure 16: Reproduction of a portrait of Lic. Carlos de Negrón. Source: Francisco Pacheco, Libro de descripción…

[33] ARCG, Hidalguía, 5108-163. Two brothers named Camilo and Julio Negron, sons of Carlos Negron, were litigating in the years just before Pacheco published his book in the late 1580s. Pacheco, "Libro de retratos," fol. 28.

[34] Ibid., fol. 74. "Felicidad en linage, nacimiento, y patria. Felicidad en consorte e hijos... Felicidad en virtud, ingenio, y letras. Felicidad en oficios y estimación. Felicidad en buena muerte y glorioso nombre y fama."

Figure 17: Reproduction of a portrait of Dr. Luciano de Negrón. Source: Francisco Pacheco, *Libro de descripción…*

bureaucratic and religious offices, for which their apparent *hidalguía* and *limpieza de sangre* were necessary preconditions. This was compatible with and even somewhat aided by their Genoese past, at least in Carlo's case.

Spanish literature also provides some sense of this broader nobility and influence that Italians were believed to possess as merchants, bankers, and bureaucrats. The playwright and novelist Alonso del Castillo Solórzano argued in the case of Genoa that its sons were "very wealthy [and] illustrious and noble gentlemen, whose honorable surnames (in particular those of the distinguished families) are esteemed in Spain, France, Italy, and the other kingdoms of the globe."[35] Castillo Solórzano also highlighted the influence that emanated from these merchants in his picaresque novel *La garduña de Sevilla*. In it, the power of the Genoese merchant derived from his mercantile activities and the connections cultivated through them. It was because of this extensive business in "all merchandise" that he were visited by merchants from "the city of Cordoba and from the surrounding cities, since he had correspondence everywhere."[36] In his

[35] Castillo Solórzano, *Noches de placer*. "Génova, nobilísima república en nuestra Europa, a quien patrocina el poderoso y católico rey de las Españas, opulenta de riquezas por los gruesos tratos de sus caudalosos hijos; madre de ilustres y nobles caballeros, cuyos honrosos apellidos (en particular los de señaladas familias) son estimados en España, Francia, Italia y los más reinos del orbe."

[36] Castillo Solórzano, *La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas*. "su trato era grueso en todas mercaderías, y a su casa acudían por ellas los mercaderes, así de la ciudad de Córdoba como de las convecinas porque tenía correspondencias en todas partes."

play *Santo y sastre*, Tirso de Molina described merchants in general as ambitious people on the eve of becoming nobles: "*en visperas de hidalgo.*"[37] Nevertheless, the social position of merchants in sixteenth-century Iberia was in flux and merchants were often differentiated between those that bought and sold physical merchandise and those who specialized in credit and bills of exchange. Moreover, Italian merchants occupied a separate space where their own kind of nobility encompassed and even promoted mercantile activity.

The image of Genoese nobility, complicated through the *alberghi*, could be harnessed by lower-level merchants to solidify their social status in Castile. Raul Girón Pascual and Enrique Soria Mesa have argued that a distinct type of nobility tied to identification as Genoese – and in some cases, more broadly Italian – is highly visible in the suits for *hidalguía* litigated in the Chancellery of Granada.[38] Agustín de Vivaldo's 1524 suit for *hidalguía* provides some evidence for the tension between Genoese and Castilian ideas of nobility, both in the witness testimony of other Genoese merchants presented by Vivaldo and in the arguments made against his claim by the city council of Seville. Some of the differences highlighted, especially by the council, concerned the transferability of the specific privileges that nobility conferred.[39] These ranged from tax exemptions and contributions for war efforts to protection from judicial torture and imprisonment for debts – all of which were not distinctions between the *nobles* and *populares* in Genoa, but were particularly important in Castile's differentiation between hidalgos and *pecheros*.

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[37] Tirso de Molina, *Obras completas Cuarta parte de comedias II*: (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Tirsianos, 2003) f. 116.

[38] Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos," 51–52; Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España moderna*, 89.

[39] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017. f. 14v. "y en caso que sea noble en Génova que no por eso se pueden escusar en estos nuestros reinos de contribuyr y servir y ser presos por deudas y puesto a question de tormento pues en la que dicen nobleza en la dha ciudad de Génova en esto no avía diferencia de nobles a populares."

Another point of difference centered on how nobility was acquired and transferred, as well as the translation of terms across different social and legal contexts. The city council and the royal fisc of the audiencia used the Genoese merchant Agustín Vivaldo's own witness testimony to argue that "it meant a very different thing in Genoa [to be] a noble and a *popular* than what [it means] in Spain [to be] a *hidalgo* and a *hombre llano pechero*." [40] For one, in Genoa a noble who married a common woman lost his nobility, which was not the case in Castile, and the fisc highlighted that one witness had claimed to be a *popular* in Genoa and had become a noble in Castile, which seemed counterintuitive to the arguments presented by Vivaldo regarding straightforward equivalence. The council later went so far as to argue that because each country has its own customs and laws, it follows that a person considered noble in their land does not necessarily meet the requirements of another, which was also evidenced in the repeated claims of the council that *noble* and *popular* did not mean the same as *hidalgo* and *pechero*.[41] Most of Vivaldo's witnesses used the term *populares* to refer to the *popolo*, except for one (Agustín de Grimaldo) who used the term *ciudadanos,* just as the witnesses for the Pinelo brothers had more than a decade earlier. Another of these witnesses also seemed perturbed when he repeated a number of times that "in Genoa they are called *nobles*, not *hidalgos*."[42] Clearly, there was some difficulty with establishing the equivalency of terms.

Reservations on the part of Castilians about Genoese naming patterns – likely the discrepancies produced by the *albergo* system – also show up in the testimony of the same

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[40] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 14r. "uno de sus testigos decía que si un noble casase con una mujer popular perdiera la nobleza lo cual no era en el hidalgo de españa y otro testigo dijo que era popular se avía hecho aca noble de manera que era muy diferente cosa en Génova noble e popular que a lo que en España era Hidalgo e hombre llano pechero."

[41] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 14r-v, 18r.

[42] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 7v.

witness. Cristobal Calvo pushed back forcefully against the contention that nobility could not be determined by a person's surname alone by implying that Castilians were projecting the issues of their own messy naming system onto the straightforward approach utilized by the Genoese, flatly denying that anyone could take on a surname in Genoa other than that inherited from their father.[43] Yet, this was further and more complexly elaborated upon by another witness named Percivale Grimaldo:

> in that territory and city, the nobles do not change their names or lineages from which they descend, and they are called by a sobriquet (*sobrenombre*) only in as much as the sobriquet is that of their lineage and the houses of their lineage. They do not follow the usage of Castile, where they change surnames and lineages, the son taking the surname of his mother and of other lineages. In Genoa the nobles always have the sobriquet of their ancestor and their lineage.[44]

Naming patterns in Castile were rather flexible and it was just as common that a person would use their father's surname as it was to use their mother's, often using whichever provided the most prestige or had the resources to inherit. It was thus not uncommon that siblings would utilize a mix of surnames, depending on whose memory they were honoring, the ties they were emphasizing, or who they were attempting to secure an inheritance from. Nevertheless, this second witness's testimony also subtly points to the cracks of the Genoese system in his introduction of the term *sobrenombre*, which is not repeated among the other witnesses. This seems to have referred to the name of the *albergo* taken by merchants at times as a sobriquet

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[43] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 7r-v. "porque en la ciudad de Génova el linaje de los vivaldos es tenido y aviso por linaje de los nobles hijosdalgo de la dha ciudad de Génova y nobles della è porque allá no se consiente que ninguno tomé linaje de otro apellido sino del que viene como se hace en Castilla y por esto el tiene al que contiende y al dho su padre por hombres nobles como allá se llaman nobles e non se llaman hombres hijosdalgo como acá."

[44] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 10v. "en aquella tierra e ciudad los nobles no mudan sus nombres e linajes dónde desienden e se llaman por sobrenombre sino siempre se nombran e llaman por sobrenombre del linaje e casas de su linaje e no lo hacen a la usanza de Castilla que se mudan los apellidos e linajes tomando el nombre el hijo departe de la madre e de otros linajes e en Génova los nobles siempre tienen el sobrenombre de sus pasados de su linaje."

alongside their family surname, but was often used in its place while abroad during the sixteenth century. The key to this witness's argument is the assumption of equivalence between *linaje* and *albergo*. The former is most often used in reference to a concrete family tied together by common descent, whereas the latter had a much broader meaning in its incorporation of families that recognized their kinship to each other, but also included clients that were not related by blood.[45] Although Castilians seem to be aware of the potential pitfalls of basing claims to *hidalguía* simply on the use of a surname, the issue was not easily resolved and perhaps provided the opportunity for some, like the earlier unnamed witness derided by the city council of Seville, to transition from being a member of the *popolo* to a noble as they moved from Genoa to Castile.

Liminal Claims to *Naturaleza* and *Hidalguía*

The cases presented in this dissertation deal with families that had a variety of relationships to Seville – from those newly arrived to those whose ties with the city spanned generations. Certainly, the differences in approach to harnessing a Genoese past alongside other activities that elided their foreignness when seeking public or ecclesiastical offices was affected to some degree by generational change. To some extent, succeeding generations born and raised in Seville or elsewhere in the Spanish kingdoms to couples of mixed Genoese and Castilian parentage may have been less likely to stress their Genoese identity, whether because it provided greater potential for dissimulation, because it was no longer relevant to their identity (even if it might have been to their neighbors), or because it had been forgotten.[46] Yet there are a number of cases where Genoese

[45] For the importance of the lineage (in the sense of a concrete family) and the antiquity of that line of descent for the identity of noble caballeros in literature, see Izquierdo Andreu, "La estirpe legitimadora". See also Menéndez Pidal de Navascues, "Las ideas sobre linaje, nobleza y uso de armas en Guipúzcoa a fines del siglo XV"; Casey, "Linaje y parentesco."

[46] For its contribution to dissimulation see Díaz Blanco and Fernández Chaves, "Una élite en la sombra"; Brilli, "La importancia de hacerse español."

surnames continued to be inherited and utilized alongside Castilian ones for generations in patterns following the mixed approach prevalent in Castile, even if they were no longer as elaborated upon or identified as such.

Genoese identity did not always disappear with subsequent generations, despite assimilation and even formal recognition of naturalization. It was at times harnessed and used to the advantage of the petitioners. A selection of lawsuits instigated by Genoese merchants and their descendants to establish *hidalguía* in order to escape the collection of property taxes and an excise tax on meat that was established by Seville's city council in the sixteenth century illuminate this liminal form of ambiguous integration.[47] The status of hidalgo granted an exemption from being enumerated on the city's list of *pecheros*, though control of this distinction became of increasing concern for the municipalities of Castile who sought to protect their tax-base with tighter oversight.[48] One case, spanning from 1513 to 1517, involved the suit of two brothers named Gaspar and Esteban Centurión. The former lived in Seville, whereas Esteban spent most of his time in Granada.[49] According to Michael Crawford, the brothers harnessed the slippage between legal categories, in this case those surrounding the classifications of residence, by styling themselves as *habitantes* rather than the more typical designations of *moradores*, *estantes*, or *vecinos*. The Centurión brothers argued that their father had lived in Genoa was a *hidalgo*

[47] The majority of cases would have been litigated before the city council or the provincial court of Seville, though most the cases of the latter do not survive. Those that were appealed to the Royal Chancellery of Granada survive in the *hidalguía* section of that archive. Some of these include Paris and Jeronimo Cataño, ARCG, Hidalguía, 5090-219; 4686-211, 5095-079; Jorge Negron, ARCG, Hidalguía, 5091-022; Luis de Spinola, ARCG, Hidalguía, 5090-079; Luis Justiniano, ARCG, Hidalguía, 5104-232; Sebastian Pinelo, ARCG, Hidalguía, 5105-158; Camilo Negron, ARCG, Hidalguía, 5108-163, 4575-028; Agustin de Vivaldo, ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017.

[48] For more on these efforts, see Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*. For more on the polemic and anxieties around false hidalgos and attempts to restrict access to this status, see Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*.

[49] AMS, sec. 10, caja 31, carp. 131.

"according to the standard Castilian formulary."[50] The witnesses selected were all of discernably Genoese origin, but the Centurión brothers also referenced a 1508 royal letter of naturalization that had been granted to them along with two additional brothers and a relative by marriage named Francisco Doria.[51] The final decision made by the Royal Chancellery of Granada confirmed that foreigners could be entitled to the privileges of *hidalguía,* and even cited the earlier case presented by the brothers Bernaldo, Augustin, and Luco Pinelo in their decision.

This earlier suit brought by the Pinelo brothers, which began in 1501 and lasted over a decade, is a particularly illuminating example of ambiguous integration. Although the case was being heard in the royal chancellery in Ciudad Real, the Catholic Monarchs gave permission for the fifteen listed witnesses to be interviewed by a royal scribe (*escribano*) in Seville, since many argued they were too old, infirm, or busy with business to make the trip to Ciudad Real.[52] Eleven of the original fifteen listed by the brothers gave testimony to the scribe in Seville, a copy of which was made by a local notary.[53] The argument on the part of the brothers focused on utilizing their activities in Genoa and among the Genoese community in Seville as evidence of *hidalguía* through selective office-holding, an approach that was apparently replicated by the Centurión brothers.

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[50] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*, 88–90.

[51] Witnesses included: Bautista Centurión, Leonardo di Agascio, Andrea Doria, Gaspar Espíndola, Cristobal Mattuto Pedro Gentil, Nicolas Gentil, and Juan Degracia. For more on this family, see López Beltrán and López de Coca Castañer, "Mercaderes genoveses en Málaga (1487-1516)"; Enseñat de Villalonga, "Orígenes y trayectoria de la familia genovesa Centurione Becchignone y su vinculación a España (1360-1525)."

[52] AHPS, Protocolos, 9116, f. 519 "enpedidos e ocupados asy de vejeses e enfermedades como de otras ocupaciones tanto e por tal manera que ellos ni alguno de ellos no podían venir ni ser traídos a la dicha nuestra corte"

[53] The eleven were: their uncle, the *jurado* Francisco Pinelo; their cousin Nicoloso Espíndola (also a *vecino* of Seville); Otovian Calvo; Antonio Nayón; Gaspar Salvago, Pedro Leardi; Oberto de Negro; Andrea de Pomar; Juan Antonio Calvo; Francisco Doria; and Silvestre Vento. Witnesses who did not testify in Seville: Luis de Riberol, Jorge Catano, Antonio Forne, and Alberto Suegio.

Luco and his brothers were the nephews of the famous Francisco Pinelo.[54] Francisco's meteoric rise and the activities of his children have often overshadowed the trajectories of his nephews Bernaldo, Agustín, and Luco, who were also active in Seville. His actions do help to explain the success of the Pinelo brothers in their suit, given that he was one of their witnesses, although it is also striking that the brothers and their witnesses did not explicitly reference any of Francisco's or their cousins' achievements, nor their connections in Genoa and elsewhere beyond vague references to ancient nobility.

Instead, the witnesses were asked about the brothers', their father's, and grandfather's reputation, which was corroborated by most of the witnesses with reference to their public and political lives. For example, Bernaldo Pinelo – the first of the three brothers to join his uncle in Seville – had been elected as one of the consuls of the Genoese community in the city. Several witnesses explained that the office was divided between the noble and *popolo* families and Bernaldo had been chosen to represent the noble faction.[55] In addition, they recalled that the brothers had joined with other nobles in political assemblies, both in Seville and in Genoa, where they had heard this was the case among the older generations. A handful of witnesses also made reference to the reputed nobility of the Pinelo family as a whole, labeling it a very ancient lineage whose members were commonly held to be "*hidalgos*."[56] The witnesses gathered by the brothers were all members of the Genoese community in Seville and likely were only able to contribute knowledge about their nobility with reference to their Genoese ancestry and public activities via the consulate in Seville. The brothers opted to confirm their nobility in a Castilian

[54] For more on Francisco Pinelo, including the family tomb in the cathedral, see Chapter 2.

[55] In the witness statements, references to the nobility were translated in terms of *hidalguía* while the *popolo* was equated with *ciudadanos* – going so far as to avoid the term *pechero* almost entirely.

[56] AHPS, Protocolos, 9116, unfoliated.

context with reference to the Genoese one, though in a very Castilian way: referencing office-holding restricted to nobles. They assumed that this identification would be transferable to Seville, where they had already become *vecinos* and had come into conflict with the town council over taxes. This is emblematic of the liminal foregrounding of ambiguous integration that was more common at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Contesting Foreign *Hidalguía* across the Sixteenth Century

A more complicated picture of this liminality is provided by the lawsuits pursued by Agustín Vivaldo at the Royal Chancellery of Valladolid in the mid-1520s, and by his sons Agustín and Adán Vivaldo at the Royal Chancellery of Granada in the 1580s.[57] In addition to demonstrating the tensions involved in the purported transfer of nobility between Genoa and Castile and the application of *hidalguía* to those considered foreigners and merchants, as discussed above, these two cases illustrate the way that Genoese identity could be utilized by the same family across the sixteenth century in Seville.

The elder Agustín Vivaldo was born in Genoa at the end of the fifteenth century and had first arrived in 1506 at Toledo with a brief from Pope Julius II (1503-1517) recommending him and his partner Agustín Grimaldo to the Archbishop Ximenez de Cisneros (1495-1517), a confessor of the late Isabel I (1474-1504) and one of Castile's foremost ministers.[58] He was still residing in Toledo in 1511, when he became involved in a lawsuit at the Chancellery of Valladolid with his compatriot and subsequent co-participant in the Atlantic slave trade, Pedro

[57] ARCV, Sala de Hijosdalgo, Caja 14044. The elder Agustín's suit is also extracted in his sons' suit: ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 1-11r. The late Sevillian historian Enrique Otte had intended to write a biography of Vivaldo, tentatively titled "Agostino Vivaldi, gran mercader (trágico) de Sevilla," but he was unable to complete it before his death. See his posthumous Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

[58] AHN, Universidades, Car. 1, N. 29.

Benito Grillo de Basiniana.[59] Both were in Seville by the next decade, but Agustín appears to have moved around the Iberian peninsula from Valencia, Valladolid, and the royal court, to Burgos, Avila, and Medina del Campo.[60] Vivaldo became one of the main holders of the monopoly to transport slaves to the Caribbean in the mid-1520s, together with his brother Adan, and compatriots Gaspar Centurión (who may also have been a relative on his mother's side), Tomas and Domingo Forne (Fornari), and the Toledan merchant Juan Vásquez.[61] He was also a successful banker with revolving connections to some of the other major Genoese bankers in the peninsula, including the Centurión brothers, the Grimaldo, and the Forne.[62] After his brother's death in 1523 while traveling to Santo Domingo, Agustín took over his part in the company with the Centurión brothers. In 1524, Vivaldi suffered a bankruptcy with more than four million *maravedis* owed to him by Charles V alone.[63] Agustín was able to recover and suffered two additional bankruptcies before his death around 1544, though his family remained mired by extensive debts.[64]

Vivaldo's first wife was a Genoese woman named Battina Grimaldo and together they had only one son named Geronimo or Girolamo, who returned to Genoa and inherited his father's principal houses there in exchange for his share of his mother's dowry. He continued the family in Genoa and even rose to the position of Doge for the period 1559-1560. After his first wife's death, Agustín married a Castilian woman named Isabel Moran, for whom he expressed

[59] ARCV, Registro de Ejecutorias, caja 26449.

[60] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 5v-6r.

[61] AGI, Indiferente, 421, L. 11, f. 119v. See also Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*, 257.

[62] Ibid., 231–32, 250–62.

[63] Ibid., 261.

[64] AHPS, Protocolos, 9159, f. 206v-301v. See also Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI*.

affection in his will and with whom he had nine additional children.[65] Two of his children took religious orders and entered religious houses in Seville: his daughter Ginebra in the Monastery of Santa Paula (alongside several other daughters of Genoese merchants) and his son Gregorio in the Monastery of San Francisco.[66] Some of his sons continued to be merchants and moved between Genoa and Seville, while others combined military service and other activities in Castile with mercantile pursuits.

In 1524, right around the same time as his first bankruptcy, Agustín appealed his suit for *hidalguía* status to the Chancellery of Valladolid, citing the immemorial nobility of his family. The town council of Seville had included him on the *padrón,* or census of tax-payers, arguing that Agustín and his father had held offices commonly held by *pecheros,* and as an addenda to their more conventional arguments, they claimed that regardless of his nobility in his homeland, as a foreigner he was ineligible to benefit from *hidalguía* and the other "privileges and liberties" of natives.[67] The witnesses gathered by Vivaldo and his lawyer to combat the claims of the city council and the prosecutor of the chancellery (*fiscal*) were all Genoese and were either business associates, relatives, or both.[68] The emphasis of their testimony focused on a variety of proofs that confirmed Agustín and his family were reputed among the nobility in Genoa. This included citing the antiquity of the family, the way Agustín was addressed in letters from Genoa as "the noble Agustín Vivaldo," and that the reputation of families as noble or *popolo* had recently been brought into stark relief by the protests in Genoa "concerning the *populares'* desire to earmark two thirds of the offices [for themselves]," permitting the witnesses to know very clearly who

[65] AHPS, Protocolos, 9159, f. 206v-301v.

[66] Ibid.

[67] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f 16r.

[68] Witnesses included: Cristobal Calvo; Flerigo Centurión; Percivale Grimaldo; Agustin Grimaldo.

was what.[69] Vivaldo must have been somewhat confident that his suit would be successful, given that he elected not to respond to the second round of arguments presented by his opponents. The judges did rule in his favor on May 27, 1538, arguing that the witness testimony he provided had proven his status as a noble in Genoa and they accepted the transfer of that distinction to Castile, notwithstanding the protests of Seville's city council.[70] The judges went so far as to argue that the prosecutor and city council had not proven any of their claims.

The path followed by Agustín in the 1520s and 30s was not very different from the approach pursued by his partners the Centurión brothers, nor the Pinelo brothers before them, whose case was cited by later judges as proof that foreigners were eligible for recognition as hidalgos. Vivaldo's case thus demonstrates the way Genoese identity could be used to secure certain claims alongside evidence of the growing antipathy of local city councils toward those whose suits were eroding their tax base. Although the pressure on foreign merchants continued to increase as the century progressed, the Vivaldo family was still able to find success utilizing their Genoese past, but with a substantial revving up in their selection of witnesses and the claims about their ancestry by the time two of Agustín's sons had to litigate with the council of Seville in the 1580s.

Adán Vivaldo, the older of the two, had left the family home in Seville for some time and participated as a soldier in a number of theaters, including the Alpujarra Rebellion in Granada (1568-1571) and in the war of Portuguese succession (1580-1583). He married a Sevillian woman named Isabel de Ayala, and his children Bartolome and Agustín Vivaldo continued as merchants, with the former working for the powerful merchants' consulate in Seville and the

[69] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 11r.

[70] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 15r.

latter at times traveling along with his merchandise to Peru.[71] Adán's brother, the younger Agustín Vivaldo, also left Seville and spent some time in Salamanca, where he did some unspecified work for the then-student Dr. Luciano Negrón (pictured above, **Figure 17**), who also served as a witness in the suit. This Agustín married Francisca Quintanilla in Madrid and seems to have settled there with his family, though he returned to Seville while he litigated his *hidalguía* with Adán. His great-grandson Carlos Cervino Vivaldo would later become the first Viscount of Miraflores after attaining the habit of the Order of Alcantara and serving on Seville's city council. (**Figure 18**)

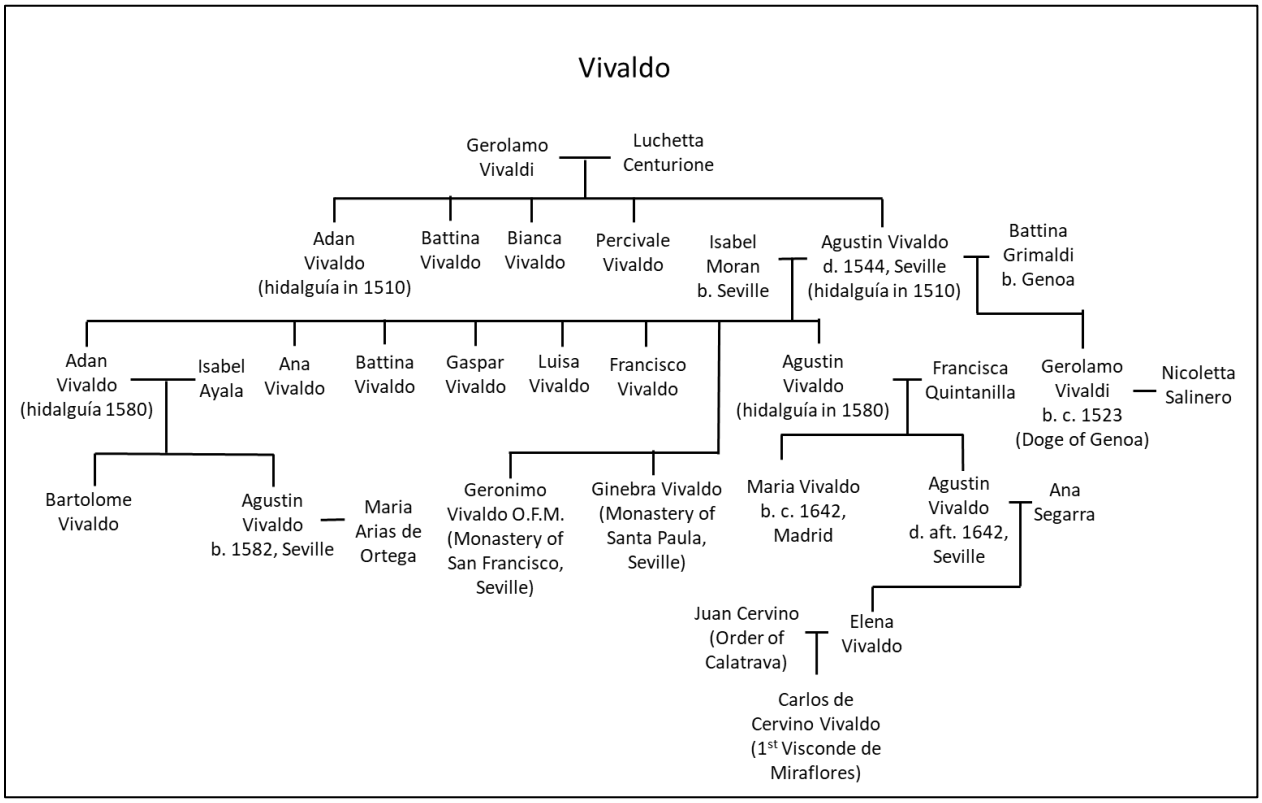

Figure 18: Vivaldo Family Tree.

[71] AGI, Contratación, 5318, N.2, R. 25. See also Gómez Oreña, "La Casa y Negocios de Juan Bautista Cassani," 20–22.

Both brothers had been away from Seville for more than two decades before the litigation resumed. As recent scholarship on *hidalguía* suits in Seville has shown, those who spent prolonged periods away from a community often found themselves litigating upon their return in order to have their status recognized again by authorities eager to protect the city's diminishing tax base.[72] In addition to questioning the legitimacy of the brothers, the town council reiterated the arguments presented in the suit against their father and contended that his recognition as a hidalgo had been inaccurate because of his status as a foreigner. In response, the brothers did not opt to shift the focus from their Genoese ancestry to their mother's, but rather leaned into the assumption that Genoese nobility transferred unproblematically to Castile.

Like their father, the brothers presented witnesses who identified as members of "the Genoese nation." Many were *vecinos* and several had been born in Castile to Genoese parents.[73] At the top of the list, the brothers included some higher profile witnesses like Juan Bautista Centurión the second Marqués de Estepa, whose father had been granted the title at the instigation of his grandfather, a wealthy Genoese banker at the royal court named Adán Centurión. A number of the others were within Centurión's circle, living in the village of Estepa and serving as his administrators and agents. By choosing exclusively Genoese witnesses, the brothers doubled down on the approach their father had used and even went further in their translation of nobility in Genoa into the language of *hidalguía* in Castile. The witness testimony was rather pompous and repetitive about the existence of twenty-eight noble houses in Genoa, whose illustrious male descendants were inscribed in the Golden Book of nobility to determine

[72] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*.

[73] The witnesses included: Juan Bautista Centurión, Marques de Estepa; Jofre de Lercaro; Dr. Lucian de Negron, canon of the cathedral of Seville; Antonio de Çibori; Lucian Centurión; Juan Bautista Pinelo (mentioned above, with regard to *vecindad* and *naturaleza*); and Cristobal Centurión.

eligibility for the commune's highest office and the senate. The brothers also included two patents written in Latin and signed by a Genoese official and Pedro de Mendoza, the Castilian ambassador to Genoa, confirming that their names were written in the aforementioned book.[74]

Some witnesses attested to the notorious recognition of the family as one of the "noblest and most ancient" of the twenty-eight families, at least among any who know anything about the city and especially among those of the Genoese nation. Many balanced their extensive testimony framed by the increasingly genealogical focus of *hidalguía* suits by continuing to reference civil office-holding as indicative of nobility: the primary focus of the earlier cases litigated by the Pinelo and Centurión brothers discussed above. In this case, Agustín and Adán's half-brother Geronimo was prominently highlighted as a previous Doge of Genoa, but the witnesses also made broader claims about members of the twenty-eight houses in general. On the one hand, they highlighted the military contributions of Genoese people in Castile, who had "served as generals of galleys, and had received habits of the [orders] of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava." They also highlighted the high offices which members of the twenty-eight Genoese houses had held within the Church, including "pontiffs, cardinals, and archbishops."[75] Two witnesses even included descriptions of the coat of arms of the Vivaldo, since the fact that they had one could attest to their nobility.[76] One witness even included language typically used in proofs of *limpieza de sangre* in their testimony about the nobility of the Vivaldo family. The tensions noticeable throughout the testimony and arguments at the fore of their father's *hidalguía* suit do not appear to be given any weight by the witnesses for the brothers. The focus was no

[74] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 45v-46r.

[75] ARCG, Hidalguía, 4576-017, f. 31v.

[76] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, f. 103v-104r. The use of coats of arms to argue for a family's possession of *hidalguía* can also be seen in a 1595 suit for *limpieza de sangre* as a prerequisite for the office of familiar of the Inquisition in Mexico instigated by Rafael Moreno Pinelo.

longer so much on establishing the equivalence of nobility between Genoa and Seville, but that the Vivaldo family was considered among one of the noblest houses in Genoa.

In a reversal of what had occurred in the 1520s, the city council of Seville opted not to provide an additional response to the witness testimony presented by the brothers. The judges ultimately decided in favor of the brothers as a result of the extensive evidence they provided, instructing the council of Seville to return any property they had confiscated from them and to respect their status as hidalgos. Overall, this second round of litigation illustrates that *hidalguía* (much like *vecindad* and *naturaleza*) was not exclusively inheritable and could be challenged in succeeding generations. This was the case despite the claims made by the city council of Seville and their lawyer that Castilian *hidalguía* was a distinction that could not be lost even through sexual miscegenation with non-noble women, in contrast they claimed to Genoese nobility. It also shows the way the language and proofs of nobility shifted in the 1580s, notwithstanding the similarities with their father's case, as well as those of the Pinelo and Centurión brothers. The developments highlighted here are partially consistent with Crawford's argument that these suits shifted away from a focus on office-holding as proof of nobility toward more genealogically-based arguments, revealing the potential for a mixed approach.[77] Moreover, this illustrates the confluence of *limpieza de sangre* and the world of *hidalguía*, demonstrated in the spillover in language but also in the increasingly genealogical approach of litigants' arguments.

This utilization of Genoese ancestry and identity in such claims did not continue indefinitely, even within this same family. Two children of the Vivaldo brothers, named Agustín (son of Adán Vivaldo and Isabel de Ayala) and María (daughter of Agustín Vivaldo and Francisca Quintanilla) petitioned the House of Trade to travel to Peru in 1610. (See **Figure 18**)

[77] Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege*.

María was around fifteen years of age, a native of Madrid, and intended to travel in the service of a widow and possible maternal kinswoman named Ana de Ayala y Zúñiga.[78] Her cousin Agustín was a merchant intending to travel with his merchandise and return to live with his wife in Seville.[79] Both sets of witness testimony collected for the cousins mention the nobility of their parents, with some even testifying that they had seen the *ejecutoria* granted by the Royal Chancellery of Granada, but there was not one mention of the Genoese origin of that nobility. Moreover, all the witnesses for María Vivaldo were Castilian, and while some of the merchants and exchange workers (*corredor de lonja*) testifying for Agustín appear to have Italian surnames, none are identified as anything other than *vecinos* of Seville. The cases presented by these two cousins foreshadow the dissimulation that is the subject of the next chapter and show that even a family like the Vivaldo that had insisted so vehemently on their Genoese identity might also succumb to the rising pressure against foreign merchants, opting instead for a shift away from the liminal form of ambiguous integration of previous generations.

Conclusion

At the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, there was a greater possibility of liminality just as the litigation of the Centurión brothers, Pinelo brothers, and Agustín Vivaldo demonstrate. At the beginning of the century, conflict over the suitability of these Genoese as merchants found their way into petitions for *vecindad* and *hidalguia.* The ability of nobility to carry over from Genoa to Seville also shaped some of this litigation, which focused largely on finding points of equivalence, whether in office-holding, privileges, heraldry, or genealogy. But there was also some limited recognition of the relative difficulties imposed by

[78] AGI, Contratación, 5317, N.1, R.25.

[79] AGI, Contratación, 5318, N.2, R.25.

the system of the *alberghi* in Genoa and the fluidity of surname use in Castile. While local officials tried to limit their access to *vecindad* and *hidalguía* because of their foreignness, some were successful in litigating their claims and securing the more common informal recognition provided by the implicit compliance of the community through their *habitus*.

The amenability of liminality in these cases nevertheless seems to have deteriorated from the middle of the sixteenth century forward. Some of these merchants, like the Vivaldo brothers, continued to utilize and argue for the relevance of their foreign identity in Castilian society alongside their more assimilative activities. Earlier in the century, these sorts of claims, like those litigated by the Pinelo and Centurión brothers, might have been able to better capitalize on the public opinion that characterized them as wealthy, influential, and noble merchants. Nevertheless, by the 1570s Genoese identity and prominent invocations of ambiguous integration were becoming increasingly problematic, requiring petitioners to decide how they would identify themselves, cultivate their reputation, and select advantageous witnesses to bring home that choice. As a result, these merchants and their descendants were increasingly pushed to either dissimulate or else rehabilitate their foreign identity through outright renunciation.

Chapter 4:

Crossing the Atlantic, Confronting a Discourse

In the city of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria on August 8, 1571, the sergeant major (*sargento mayor*) and alderman (*regidor*) Bernardino Canino de Ventimiglia presented a proof of *hidalguía* that he had commissioned before the lieutenant governor (*teniente*) Miguel Lercaro.[1] The questions he had drafted for the deposition of witnesses, almost all of whom were Castilian, attest to the rehabilitation and near-suppression of his Genoese origin in favor of his military credentials within a Castilian context.[2] Bernardino was the son of the Genoese merchant Francisco Canino de Ventimiglia, whom he claimed had arrived on the island more than fifty years prior and "had always lived and resided on the island, behaving and conducting business as a *vecino*," a status he argued had been publicly recognized until he died in 1559.[3] The emphasis on his father's *vecindad* and extended residence appears to have been an effort to circumvent the potential drawback that Bernardino himself had only spent a year or two living there with his father and had been born and raised for most of his life in Genoa.[4] Despite this admission, the remaining questions presented to the witnesses on Bernardino's behalf attempted to rehabilitate

[1] Lercaro also appears to be of Genoese origin, likely related to Dr. Angel Lercaro, the Salamanca trained jurist who was also a teniente of the island of Tenerife. For more on the Lercaro and their archive, see Pellegrini, "Los 'mágnificos' Lercaro de Tenerife."

[2] Witnesses included: Pedro Cerón, *capitán general* of the island; Mateo de Cayrasco, *regidor*; Lic. Betancor; Garcia Osorio, *regidor* and *capitán* of the island; Juan González; Andrea de Algirofo. The final witness may well have been Italian, but his origin is not clear.

[3] Hernández Bautista, Martin Santiago, and García Torres, "Ascendencia Genovesa: Los Canino Ventimiglia." "siempre bibio y reçidio en esta ysla tratando y contatando como vesino y por tal (…..) avido y tenido hasta el tienpo de su muerte."

[4] Ibid. "que abra quarenta y dos años poco mas o menos quel dicho Bernardino Canino vino de Genova a esta ysla y estubo en casa del dicho Francisco Canino su padre poco tienpo que seria uno o dos años y luego se bolvio a Ytalia."

his absence and shift attention from his family and origins to his military actions as proof of his nobility.

For example, Bernardino introduced the second question with a lengthy preface that prompted witnesses to frame his absence from the island in his youth as the result of his military service and devotion to the emperor Charles V:

> after having left this island for Italy, he went to the camp of the emperor our Lord, who is now in [heavenly] glory, becoming a soldier, and from then on until he returned to this island, over the past twenty years or so, he always served his majesty in war; in the campaign against Tunis as well as those that occurred after, following in the camp of his majesty throughout Italy, Flanders, and France as a soldier and he has thus been recognized as a very good soldier: experienced, pragmatic, and expert in the things of war.[5]

Of the remaining eight questions prepared for the witnesses, seven were focused on Bernardino's career on the island, which included taking charge of its defenses as its *sargento mayor* and field marshal (*maestro de campo*) against Tunisian and French raiders, many Protestants, and "people of evil deeds."[6] In that role, he cited his efforts to train the *vecinos* of the island "in the business of war, to defend the territory and go on the offensive against the enemy" as both pikemen and riflemen (*arcabuseros*), as well as leading and instructing them in the creation of trenches and other defenses.[7] Afterwards, he even continued to remodel the fortress "of great importance"

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[5] Ibid. "despues de ydo el dicho Bernardino Canino desta ysla a Ytalia se fue al canpo del enperador nuestro Señor ques en gloria y asento por soldado y desde entonses hasta que bolvio a esta ysla que abra veynte años sienpre sirvio a su magestad en la guerra ansi en la jornada de Tunes como en las que despues se ofresieron a su magestad quedando en su canpo en Ytalia y en Flandes y en Fransia como tal soldado y asi fue y es avido y tenydo por muy buen soldado viejo pratico y experto en las cosas de la guerra."

[6] Ibid. "salido gruesa armada de Fransia del prinsipe de (Tanjer?) y de otros muchos luteranos y jente de mal haser."

[7] Ibid. "yndustriandolos y enseñandolos en como an de estar para los negosios de la guerra asi para defender la tierra como para ofender a los enemigos y en esta manera los a enseñado y disiplinado poniendola ynfanteria en horden y en escuadrones en encanpaña unas veses rrepartiendo los escuadrones, poniendo todo tan en horden como se podía haser … y los vesinos desta ysla asi la ynfanteria de Pica e como los arcabuseros estan disiplinados y enseñados por horden del dicho Bernardino Canino" --- "como se hagan trincheras y defensas en muchas partes de los puertos y caletas desta Ciudad para que con ellas se fortalesca la tierra y se defienda de los enemigos y los puedan ofender como parece claro en las trincheras que estan fechas en la caleta de Santa Catalina y en la caleta de los parrales y en la trinchera abaxo de Santo Domingo quees plaza fuerte y buena que todo esta fecho para defensa desta Cibdad."

guarding the port through his "ingenuity and industry … raising [the fortress] very high and extending it into the sea so that it is more secure" – a part of his career he was particularly proud of, devoting two questions to it.[8] The last of these career-oriented questions underscored Bernardino's zeal: "whether by day or night and at whatever time he has been among the first to apply himself to … the things of war."[9] While military service could be used to prove nobility, Canino de Ventimiglia's approach is noteworthy for the extent to which this aspect became the centerpiece, with almost no subsequent references to the fact that this was to prove his *hidalguía* rather than a proof of merit, or *información de oficio* or *meritos*.

The final question further illustrates the driving force of the preceding ones: Bernardino and his family's deep connection to the Canaries and his position in the society of his adopted home. It was there that he had been married, "has his wife and children, and is [esteemed as] a principal man on this island."[10] Canino de Ventimiglia did not fully dissimulate his Genoese origin, which may have been difficult to conceal given his recent extraction and extended absence from Gran Canaria. The emphasis that emerges from the questionnaire, however. demonstrates the shift of emphasis rehabilitating problematic aspects of foreign identity or ancestry – one of the main responses to the pressures mounting on those of foreign origins by the end of the sixteenth century. From emphasizing the long residence of his father, to his own position in Canarian society, or distracting officials away from it all through an emphasis on his military service within his adopted community, Bernardino clearly sought to shape the witness

[8] Ibid. "de muy grande ynportansia" "ingenios e industria … y la a levantado muy alta ysso meterla mas en la mar para queste mas fuerte … todo es por yngenio."

[9] Ibid. "de dia y de noche e qualquier tienpo a sido de los primeros que sean puesto al trabajo procurando por toda ynstansia en horden las cosas de la guerra y para todo ello (….) de los primeros y mas delantero que sean hallado y hallan a semejantes negosios."

[10] Ibid. "en esta ysla tiene su mujer e hijos y es honbre prinsipal de esta ysla."

testimony he would present to conform to a particular image. While he did not go quite so far as to renounce his Genoese origin, Canino de Ventimiglia certainly seemed apologetic and at pains to shift away from that aspect of his identity, which remained so prominent among the cases explored in the previous chapter.

This chapter continues to explore the types of reactions increasingly undertaken by Genoese and other Italian merchants after the middle of the sixteenth century. Among these, the most prominent were a shift in emphasis, like that of Canino de Ventimiglia, combined with more extensive dissimulation. Some also found it necessary to renounce their foreign past, tackling the anti-foreigner discourse head-on using many of the same arguments deployed in the late-sixteenth-century treatise in defense of the foreign merchants of Seville, known as the *Representación,* and ostensibly cutting ties to their homeland. The chapter thus presents case studies that demonstrate how emphasis was shifted and foreign identity subsumed in claims of *naturaleza*, *hidalguía*, and *limpieza.* But it also illustrates that these responses cannot be attributed to generational change, geographic variation, or the disintegration of familial and community memory alone. Rather, what seems to unite these approaches is the conjuncture of anti-foreigner discourse and its attendant pressures on these families. That is not to say that the other reasons could not combine in a variety of ways and exacerbate this shift, but that the particular context produced in Seville and across the Iberian Atlantic at the end of the sixteenth century is a thread coursing through the variety of cases presented here.

After a brief discussion of the potential reasons this shift could have been more prominent in the Americas, an example from Seville demonstrates the applicability of this shift as much within the metropole as in the Canaries, the Caribbean, and New Spain. Finally, this

chapter presents a case of outright renunciation that especially illuminates the connection between the arguments in the *Representación* and contemporary litigation.

Transatlantic Memory: A Tale of Two Cousins

Two proofs of *limpieza de sangre* were instigated in the 1590s by the great-grandchildren of the *jurado* Francisco Pinelo, who was one of the founding officials of the House of Trade and prominent in the economic and political life of Seville under the Catholic Monarchs. Both of these descendants pursued secular offices in the Inquisition in Mexico City. Through their petitions, they reveal the continued memory of Genoese ancestry for generations even as it began to receive far less emphasis than the petitioners' Castilian relations and networks.

The first of these was begun in 1593 by Juan de Esquivel to prove his and his wife Angela Pinelo's *limpieza* as a prerequisite for confirmation in the office of warden (*alcaide*) of the Inquisition's prison. The petition does not include transcriptions of witness testimony, but it does provide the prefatory account given by Juan about their ancestors and a list of preferred witnesses to consult. In discussing his wife's family, Juan described her lineage as "all kin to each other [endogamous] and [all of them] Genoese."[11] Her father, Francisco Pinelo Farfán, was a grandson of the *jurado* Franisco Pinelo and a son of Juan Bautista Pinelo and Catalina Farfán de los Godos, who were identified by Juan de Esquivel as the retainers (*criados*) of the Duke of Medina Sidonia.[12] Francisco had given his word to marry Juana Monsalve, who subsequently died giving birth to their child Angela before they could officially marry.[13] He raised Angela in

[11] AGN, Inquisición, libro 198, exp. 8, ff. 316r. "que todo esté linaje son deudos y jinoveses"

[12] Ibid. Esquivel also lists Francisco Pinelo Farfán's siblings to cite that his sister Catalina had married Luis de Sotelo, an *alguacil* of the Inquisition in Seville.

[13] Ibid. "esta D[o]ña Juana [Monsalve], hija legítima de Silvestre, quiso casar con mi suegro Francisco Pinelo y por la palabra entre ellos que se avían dado, uvieron a mi mujer, que es natural… y trujieron a la dicha mi mujer a Sanlúcar de Barrameda dónde se casó [Francisco Pinelo] con mi tía Ana de Esquivel, y casados pasaron a Nueva España"

his household and married Ana de Esquivel in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the aunt of Angela's future husband Juan. Francisco moved the family to Mexico and when Juan de Esquivel followed, his uncle and aunt brokered his marriage to Angela. (**Figure 19**)

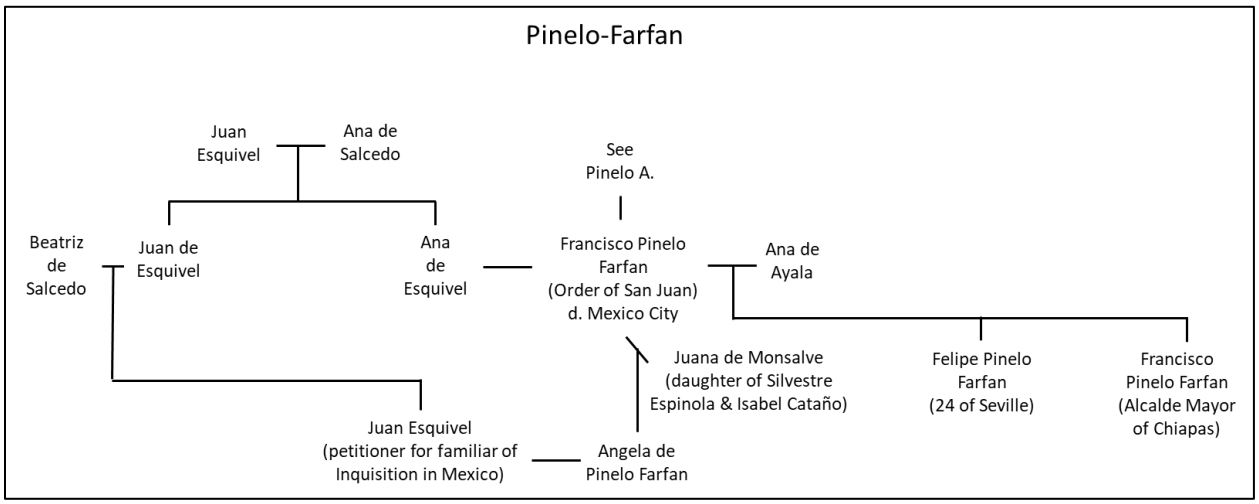

Figure 19: Pinelo-Farfán Family Tree. Connects to **Figure 9:** Pinelo Family Tree A.

The general impression of Angela's family promoted by Juan de Esquivel masked the complexity of their past, demonstrating the way a family's reputation as Genoese could survive long after its initial immigration and alongside clear insertion into Andalusian society. Angela's mother, Juana Monsalve, was of Genoese descent and her parents, Silvestre Espínola and Isabel Cataño, were identified by Esquivel as belonging to "the Genoese nation."[14] Her use of the surname Monsalve, however, indicates that her roots in Seville go somewhat deeper than the proof of *limpieza* suggests.[15] On the one hand, Angela Pinelo's ancestry was extensively mixed between Genoese and Castilian families, suggesting that the memory of Genoese identity in this family was not entirely elided by the passage of time or through such intermarriage, even three

[14] Ibid., ff. 315r. "ginoveses de nación"

[15] The Monsalves had intermarried with a branch of the Catano family that had been in Seville since the late fourteenth century. It is likely that Juana's mother was descended from them. See Sánchez Saus, *Linajes sevillanos medievales*.

or four generations later. On the other hand, there were no specific claims utilizing Genoese identity and the Castilian connections were the most prominently highlighted. For example, Esquivel stressed the offices his relatives had held in the Sevillian inquisition while largely glossing over his Genoese in-law's offices and merits. The preferred witness list he provided for the inquisitors to investigate his wife's family consisted solely of Castilians, although some were rather prominent residents of Mexico City.[16] Not only could the Pinelo family boast of members of the highly prestigious military orders of Santiago and Calatrava as well as two canons of the cathedral of Seville, Esquivel's own father-in-law Francisco had been a member of the Order of San Juan de Jerusalén and received a royal recommendation on his behalf to the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza. It instructed that he should be provided with a *corregimiento* (the office of *corregidor*) and land like all the other *vecinos* "of his rank," since it was his desire to "go to that land [New Spain] with his wife and household to live and remain there."[17] Clearly, this was a forgone opportunity for strategic aggrandizement.

This might be attributed to the fact that the *limpieza* was, after all, intended for Esquivel, who was only a relative of the Pinelo family through marriage. A parallel proof begun by Angela's cousin Rafael Moreno Pinelo in the city of Antequera, Oaxaca in 1595, however, took no issue in leaning on the accomplishments of in-laws. While the Esquivel proof did not contain witness testimony, providing only the petitioner's preface and proposed list of witnesses, the *limpieza* petition of Rafael Moreno Pinelo contains both, including the testimony gathered by

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[16] AGN, Inquisición, libro 198, exp. 8, ff. 319v. The potential witnesses on the list included: Don Juan de Saavedra, member of a Sevillian noble family; Miguel de Legazpi, the Adelantado of the Philippines; Francisco de Hoyos; Juan de la Cueva, the *relator* of the Audiencia of Mexico; Hernando Moreno; Antonio Esquivel; and Luis Hidalgo.

[17] AHN, Ordenes Militares: San Juan de Jerusalén, Exp. 23155. AGI, México, 1089, L. 4, f. 28 r-v. and 35r. He had also been allowed to take eight retainers (*criados*) with him to New Spain. AGI, Indiferente, 1964, L. 11, f. 121v. He even secured a tax exemption for up to six hundred pesos. AGI, México, 1089, L. 4, f. 31r.

inquisitors in Mexico mostly from witnesses that had grown up in the villages of Alcala de Guadaira and Hinojos, where Rafael's family had lived in the countryside outside of Seville. As a result, this case provides an opportunity to compare Rafael's self-identification (both of his and his wife's family, who was also of partial Genoese descent), the testimony provided by witnesses he had recommended, and that provided by others chosen by the inquisitors. It thus provides a view of the reputation of these families from three different angles that shows the shift in approach undertaken by Esquivel might have been utilized by a broader spectrum of individuals of Genoese descent as opposed to an approach taken only by a Castilian with Genoese in-laws.

Rafael was the son of Antonio Moreno de Mari Serrano and Elvira Pinelo. His father also combined his maternal and paternal surnames, but gave pride of place to his mother's, which continued to be utilized by Rafael. It is thus unclear why almost no specific discussion of the Moreno family appeared in the witness testimony or Rafael's own statements, while the Mari Serrano and Pinelo families were more fully discussed. The Mari Serranos were a middling family from the village of Alcala de Guadaira who took their name from a matriarch called *la jurada* Mari Serrana, whom one witness claimed had once hosted Charles V in her home.[18] Antonio had also instituted an entail, or *mayorazgo,* in 1570, which took the family a step further in their pretentions for noble status.[19] This concern is also present in the questioning for Rafael's *limpieza,* which certified the nobility of the Mari Serrano and Pinelo families through a number of different statements of proof provided by the witnesses interrogated in Castile and through additional copies of documents certifying that status.[20] On his mother's side, Rafael was the

[18] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated.

[19] Flores, *Memorias históricas de la villa de Alcalá de Guadaira*, 42.

[20] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated. Several witnesses pointed to the fact the the Pinelo's were exempt from quartering soldiers in their house and that Rafael's uncles and cousins were currently esteemed landowners in Hinojos. Testigos: Catalina de Origuela and Francisco Diaz Another witness argued that the Mari

grandson of Aldonza de la Caballeria, a member of a prominent *converso* family, and Cristobal Pinelo, another of the sons of the *jurado* Francisco Pinelo. (**Figure 20**)

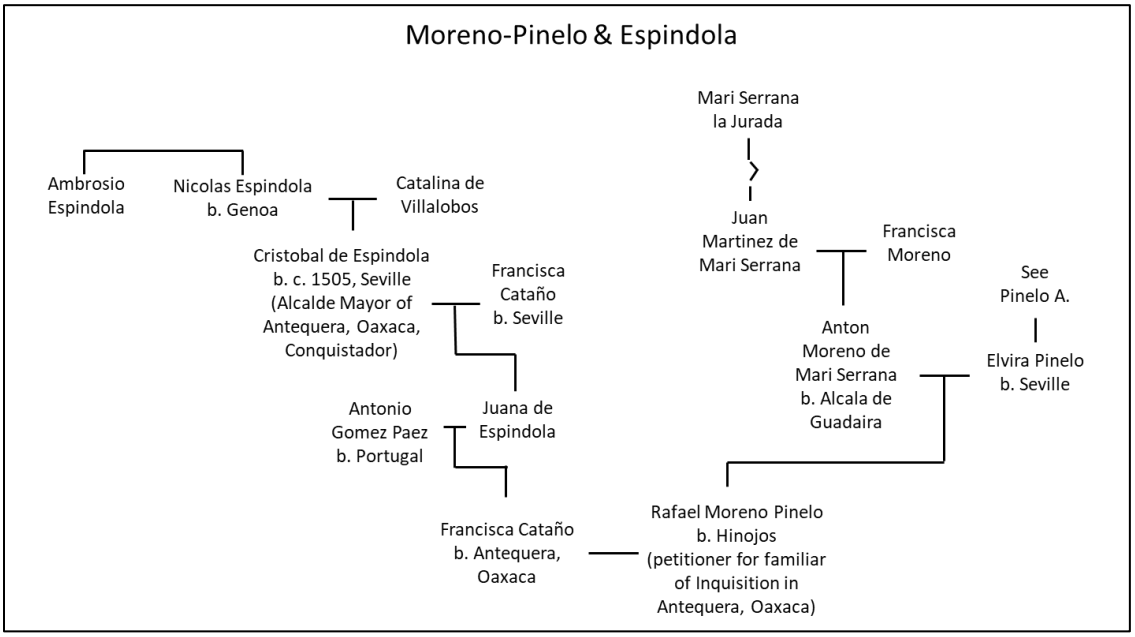

Figure 20: Moreno-Pinelo & Espindola Family Tree. Connects to **Figure 9:** Pinelo Tree A.

One of the first things that stands out are the surnames that Rafael uses. As was not uncommon practice in the sixteenth century, Rafael went by different names at various points in his life. One of the witnesses noted that when they were growing up, he had known him to use the surname his father used (Moreno), while in his own prefatory statement Rafael identifies himself with a compound of his paternal and maternal surnames, with Moreno taking pride of place before Pinelo.[21] Nevertheless, Rafael is most commonly identified throughout the proof of *limpieza* as simply Rafael Pinelo. This testifies to the continued importance and reputation of the Pinelo family in Sevillian society, but also to the potential for hybridity even within a person's

Serrana family clearly possesed *hidalguía* because Rafael's father had been able to bring a chair with him into the parish church of Hinojos to hear mass. Testigo: Alonso Romero de Cordoba. Rafael also mentioned his uncle Francisco Pinelo's exemption from the excise tax on meat in Seville and included a copy of documents proving his wife's maternal grandfather had similarly enjoined the exemption as *hidalgos*.

[21] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated.

name.[22] This is even more telling given the fact that only one of the witnesses questioned by the inquisitors previously appeared on Rafael's preferred list of references, suggesting that this view of him was more broadly held.[23]

It seems then that while Rafael attempted to invoke the family's integration into their adoptive community, emphasizing their connection to the office-holders of the secular audiencia in his preface, the witnesses questioned across Mexico City, Puebla, and Antequera were chosen by the Inquisition because they were recent arrivals from Castile and had grown up in the same area of the Sevillian countryside.[24] The testimony provided by these witnesses, when compared with that provided by the sole witnesses requested by Rafael, seems much more anecdotal and even bordering on gossip, clearly exemplified by the rambling nature of the testimony provided by Catalina de Origuela concerning her tenuous kinship with the Pinelo family.[25] The family is never identified as Genoese by Rafael, who identifies himself solely as a native of Seville, nor by any of the witnesses. Most only stated that the Pinelos were a prominent family residing in Seville who also owned a considerable amount of land in the village of Hinojos. Rafael himself

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[22] Another similar case is provided by Diego Pinelo, the royal tobacco purchaser sent by the *Casa de la Contratación* to Tierra Firme, who took his surname from a maternal ancestor a few generations back, further testifying to the continued weight of the name in Seville. AGI, Contratación, 57, N.1, R.39. The parallel case of Juan Bautista Neroni, who sought the office of familiar in the Toledo Inquisition. Neroni was the son of a cleric who was a maternal grandson of a Florentine merchant. The Florentine surname continued to pass through maternal lines and illegitimacy, giving a clear impression of its weight. AHN, Inquisición, 1470, Exp. 6

[23] Rafael Moreno Pinelo's list of witnesses included: Dr. Juan Maldonado, *alcalde del crimen* of the Audiencia; Juan Bellerino; Ines Fernandez, la romera; Fernandez's daughter; Juan de la Cerda, *relator* of the Audiencia; Dr. de la Fuente, of the Audiencia. Those interviewed by the Inquisition included: the aforementioned Juan Bellerino as well as Juan Lopez Galindo in Mexico City; Catalina de Origuela and Francisco Diaz in Puebla; and Alonso Rodriguez de Cordoba, Diego Hernandez Calvo, Nicolas Escalona, and Juan Pineda in Antequera, Oaxaca.

[24] Moreno Pinelo claimed that Dr. Maldonado, a criminal judge of the audiencia in Mexico and previously a founding member of the audiencia in Santa Fe de Bogotá, as a first cousin. Juan Bellerino, in addition to having known Rafael since he was a child, could also claim particularly trustworthy knowledge of his limpieza given that he had previously served as a procurator of confiscations for the Inquisition in Mexico. AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated. See also Barrientos Grandón, *Guía prosopográfica de la judicatura letrada indiana (1503-1898)*, 847–48.

[25] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated. – Catalina de Origuela.

stated that "there were many who could testify to the *limpieza* of his mother if they were asked about his uncle Francisco Pinelo, one of the oldest residents of Seville; everyone knows of him."[26] The prominence of the family and the memory of the lineage continued, but the Genoese origin of the family was no longer discernable to the witnesses originally from the same villages in Castile but now living in Mexico City, Puebla, or Antequera.

Likewise, there was no attempt to incorporate it into the claims in the *limpieza* as might have been done either by Rafael or any of the witnesses who testified. For example, a Salamanca-trained *letrado* of Genoese origin gave testimony to inquisitors for the Inquisition in Mexico concerning another man of Genoese origin seeking an office. In this testimony he argued that there were no *confessos* in Genoa and so by default all Genoese could be reputed to have *limpieza de sangre*.[27] Perhaps this was the result of the selection of only Castilian witnesses, both those actually deposed and those that Rafael recommended to the inquisitors.[28] That this shift in memory was occurring at the end of the sixteenth century suggests that it was fueled by the increased pressures of economic and social distress and its attendant anti-foreigner discourse, as well as the decline of the consulate as a reinforcer of that communal memory, all of which converged at that particular conjuncture.

This is also clear in the way Rafael's wife's family, who were also of mixed Genoese and Castilian descent, were discussed without any reference to their Italian roots. Like her husband, Francisca Cataño used a Genoese surname, likely in honor of her maternal grandmother. She was

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[26] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated-. "hay muchos que pueden deponer sobre limpieza de su madre preguntando sobre su tío Francisco Pinelo, uno de los más antiguos de Sevilla, todos lo conocen"

[27] AGN, Inquisicion, 60, N. 2, unfoliated.

[28] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated. Witnesses recommended by Rafael Pinelo: Juan Bellerino; Inés Fernández *la romera* and her unnamed daughter; Joan de la Cerda, *relator* of the Audiencia. Those questioned by inquisitors: Juan Bellerino; Juan López Galindo; Catalina de Origuela; Francisco Diaz; Alonso Romero de Córdoba; Diego Hernández Calvo; Nicolasa de Escalona; Juan Pineda.

the daughter of a Portuguese merchant named Antonio Gómez Páez and Juana Espíndola, who were residents of the city of Antequera, Oaxaca. Juana was the daughter of Francisca Cataño and the *conquistador* Cristobal de Espíndola, both of Genoese parentage and claimed as natives of Seville. Cristobal had been born in Seville around 1505 to the Genoese merchant Nicolas or Niculoso de Espíndola and Catalina de Villalobos, his wife. Niculoso was a cousin of the aforementioned Pinelo family, who operated closely with them in the olive oil trade and served as a mayordomo of the city council in Seville.[29] According to the documentation included alongside three thousand other petitions for royal assistance made by the conquerors of New Spain and their families, Cristobal had sold his entire estate (*hacienda*) and left Seville a decade or so after his marriage in the city to join the Soto expedition to Florida as captain of the conqueror-governor's (*adelantado*) guard.[30] As a survivor of the expedition, he later found his way to Mexico City completely destitute (*desnudo*). He subsequently had his wife and three children sent there from Seville because he desired "to live in the city and remain there."[31] Already in the late 1540s, Cristobal made no mention of his or his wife's Genoese ancestry, but rather referred to himself as a *vecino* of Seville and of recognized *hidalguía* (*hijodalgo notorio*). He also referred to his wife as the "daughter of very honorable parents" and utilized the honorific title of Doña.[32] This emphasis on his status as a *hidalgo* also found its way into the *limpieza* of Moreno Pinelo in 1595, who included a copy of receipts confirming the reimbursement of Cristobal Espíndola's payments toward the excise tax on meat (*blanca de la carne*) in 1530s

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[29] AHPS, Protocolos, 9116, f. 519r-521v. Niculoso appeared as a witness for the Pinelo brother's *hidalguía* suit, disclosing his kinship with them. AHPS, Protocolos, 9113, f. 525. Niculoso bought a warehouse for olive oil from his relative Bernaldo Pinelo in 1511.

[30] AGI, México, 1064, L. 1, f. 218r. See also Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, 338.

[31] Romero de Solís, *Andariegos y pobladores*.

[32] AGI, México, 1064, L. 1, f. 218r. "hija de muy honrrados padres"

Seville, from which hidalgos were exempt. The conflation between nobility and blood purity is quite clear in the way Moreno Pinelo's proof was structured and the wording used by his witnesses.

This emphasis can also be seen in the repeated mention by one witness of the several offices that Cristobal Espíndola had held, including as the head regional magistrate (*alcalde mayor*) of Antequera and a warden (*alguacil mayor*) of the Inquisition in Mexico City.[33] The latter was particularly helpful in Moreno Pinelo's claim for a position within the Inquisition, given that a relative had held one previously. The occupation of such offices also reinforced his claim to nobility. Despite the recognition among two of the witnesses that the Cataño and Espíndola families were prominent in Seville, the greatest emphasis among those questioned about Moreno Pinelo's wife was on her father's murky Portuguese origin in Oporto.[34] All of the witnesses were of either Castilian or Portuguese origin and there was no mention of Francisca Cataño's Genoese roots.[35] Though the memory of prestigious Genoese ancestors remained among the descendants of these families, the diminishing of networks tying these to other Genoese and of an emphasis on that past illustrate an increasing shift in emphasis away from (and even dissimulation of) foreign identity and descent.

The example provided by these two cousins that descended from the prominent Genoese Pinelo family of Seville demonstrates that intermarriage and the succession of generations living in Castile did not necessarily lead to the erosion of a family's memory of its relatives' social

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[33] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, unfoliated.

[34] AGN, Inquisición, libro 200, exp. 10, ff. "conoció a los Espindolas y catanos en Sevilla como gente tan conocida en ella." Although Moreno Pinelo included a copy of the coat of arms of the Gomez Paez family to certify their nobility and one witness mentioned the participation of the family in the *carrera de Indias*, no one provided any additional information as to his parents or other relatives in Oporto.

[35] Witnesses included: Andrés Niño; Luis Cordero; Juan Jiménez de Villaparte; Alonso Castellanos.

distinctions or of their Genoese ancestry altogether. For Esquivel, the Pinelo, Espín(d)ola, and Cataño families were still to be considered Genoese, even after three or four generations of living in Seville, becoming *vecinos* and *naturales*, extensive intermarriage with local nobility and middling urban families, and the achievement of high social distinction in the city. That the latter should be passed over by Esquivel in his claim to *limpieza de sangre* and the high social standing of his relatives is quite suggestive.

By the end of the century Genoese identity and ancestry received a different kind of treatment than what the early-fifteenth century examples of the Riberol, Centurión, and Pinelo brothers exemplified in Chapter 3. The movement of this family across the Atlantic, where there were less opportunities for the preservation of communal memory, like those provided by the consulate in Seville, certainly exacerbated this shift. Juan Esquivel's case, however, suggests that it was not necessarily a lack of memory. Rather, this shift in the way these merchants were identified and identifying in the Iberian Atlantic seems best explained by the confluence of economic, social, and political pressures at the end of the sixteenth century exemplified by anti-foreigner discourse.

The Role of Geography and Generational Change

The trajectory of a branch of the Grillo de Basiniana family demonstrates that there was more at play than generational change or the kind of assimilation that effaces a foreign past. This family shifted their approach at the end of the sixteenth century within the span of a decade and a single generation. Pedro Benito Grillo de Basiniana – a *vecino* of Seville, one of the holders of the royal slave monopoly, and a prominent Genoese merchant in the city – had been given a special privilege for himself or any of his factors, regardless of their *naturaleza*, to trade with and

travel to the Americas with the rights of a native of Castile.[36] One of his factors was Esteban Grillo de Basiniana, who left Seville for Santo Domingo in 1526 with a license to live there for up to ten years, likely derived from the license that had been granted to Pedro Benito the previous year.[37] Esteban remained in Santo Domingo for the rest of his life, where he was "buried in a sacred place with much pomp because he was one of the most esteemed men on the island."[38] His son's and grandson's memory of the family's Genoese origins and their strategy for obtaining the title of royal scribe, or *escribano real*, suggest that things had changed after mid-century. (**Figure 21**) Although they are only a little over a decade apart from each other, the grandson's petition was markedly different from his father's.

Esteban's son, Francisco Grillo de Basiniana, was born in Santo Domingo and had made his way to Mexico City by the middle of the sixteenth century. Francisco continued to have ties with Seville, as evidenced by his 1585 petition to return to his wife and children in Mexico after a trip to Castile "to conduct business, which had been offered to him there."[39] As a "person of quality" he also requested to be allowed to return with a servant-retainer, or *criado*. Also included was a copy of the license he had been given by the president of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, where he had stopped on his way to Seville, granting him permission to continue on his way since he had come from New Spain.[40] In Mexico, Francisco worked as an *escribano publico* and schoolteacher, but he had hopes of securing the title of royal scribe (*escribano*

[36] AGI, Indiferente, 420, L.10, ff. 16v-17r.

[37] AGI, Contratación, 5536, L.2, f. 35.

[38] AGI, México, 211, N. 49.

[39] AGI, Indiferente, 2062, N. 51 "a negocios que el en ellos se le ofrecieron"

[40] AGI, Indiferente, 2062, N. 51 "persona de calidad"

real).[41] For this purpose, he commissioned an *información de oficio y parte* in 1571, where witnesses testified to his *limpieza,* ability as an *escribano,* and overall merit for the royal grant.[42] Although he had been born and lived in the Americas his whole life and was married to a Spanish woman named María Arias, Francisco attempted to capitalize on his father's Genoese past and purported nobility and wealth.

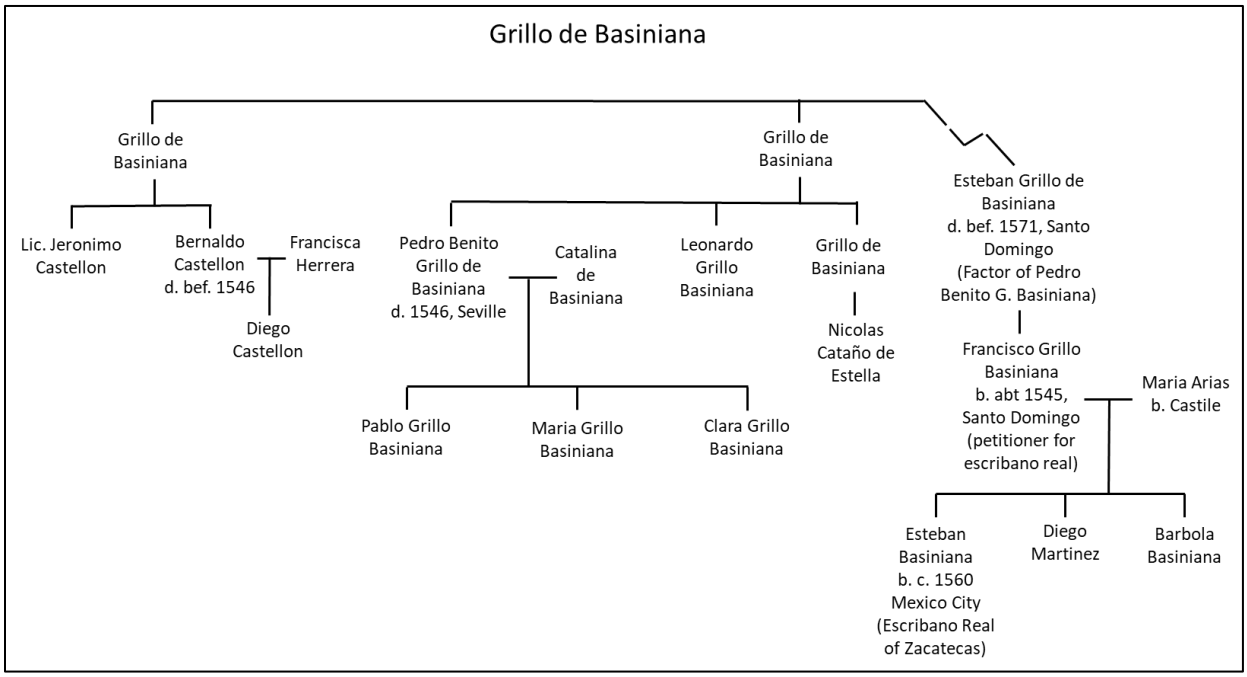

Figure 21: Grillo de Basiniana Family Tree.

The three witnesses that testified for the petition appear to have all been of Genoese origin, were of the same age as Francisco, had lived in Santo Domingo when they were young, and had all become *vecinos* of Mexico City.[43] Much like the approach taken by the Pinelo and Centurión brothers at the beginning of the century, Francisco Grillo de Basiniana's witnesses

[41] For more on the different designations, including escribano real, see Hidalgo Nuchera, "El Escribano Público entre partes o notarial en la Recopilación de Leyes de Indias de 1680"; Guajardo-Fajardo Carmona, *Escribanos en Indias durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI*.

[42] AGI, México, 211, N. 49.

[43] The witnesses were: Simon Pascua, Gaspar Salvago (discussed above), and Ambrosio Centurión.

described his father as “a noble man, a native of Genoa who identified himself as such, and he was held and estimated to be among the nobility.”[44] One witness claimed to have known many of Esteban de Basiniana’s relatives in Genoa and another remembered the importance of his funeral in Santo Domingo. Moreover, considerable attention was given to the reputed wealth of Esteban de Basiniana, “a very rich man, of considerable credit” and “estimated among the good men, [a] wealthy [man] with ample property,” which Francisco had inherited as his universal heir in the amount of “two or three thousand pesos of common gold.”[45] For Francisco’s petition, the emphasis was on establishing his merit for the grant based on his Genoese ancestry, his family’s wealth, and the fact that he had a wife and children, as well as a school, in Mexico City.

Francisco had even received an endorsement from the *oidores* of the Audiencia of Mexico – Doctors Pedro Farfán, Villalobos, Villanueva, and Vasco de Puga. Farfán was a Sevillian whose family had connections with Genoese and German merchants in Seville, and some of his relatives were also members of the confraternity of Los Caballeros de Calle Castro together with individuals from the Genoese Cataño and Pinelo families living in Seville.[46] Despite all of this, Francisco’s petition did not earn him the title. Francisco’s son, Esteban

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[44] AGI, México, 211, N.49. "el Qual hera habido y tenido por hombre noble y natural de Genoba y ensi lo mostraba, tenido y estimado entre los nobles, y conozco a muchos deudos suyos en Genoba”

[45] AGI, México, 211, N.49. “y hera hombre muy rico y de mucho crédito”; “y hera tenido y estimado entre los buenos, rico y muy hazendado”; "y a lo que este testigo entiende de el, valora su hazienda dos o tres mil pesos de oro común."

[46] See Hermoso Mellado-Damas, “La cofradía de los Caballeros de la calle Castro de Sevilla”, Farfan’s paternal relative, Catalina Farfan married Juan Bautista Pienlo, a son of the *jurado* Francisco Pinelo. Pedro Farfan’s maternal aunt had married Jacome Cromberger, a printer and bookseller. See: Poole, “Institutionalized Corruption in the Letrado Bureaucracy: The Case of Pedro Farfán (1568-1588)”, The Crombergers also had Genoese relatives, like Juan Pablos the nephew of the printer Juan Cromberger and his agent in Mexico City, who eventually established his own printing press there. See Sarabia Viejo, “Presencia italiana en Nueva España y su conexión Sevillana (1520-1575),” 454–55; Establés Susán, *Diccionario de mujeres impresoras y libreras de España e Iberoamérica entre los siglos XV y XVIII*. For the purported Morrocan origin of the Farfan family, see Maíllo Salgado, “Precisiones para la historia de un grupo étnico-religioso”; Sánchez Saus, “Un linaje hispano-marroquí entre la leyenda y la historia.”

Basiniana, born around 1561 in Mexico City, also commissioned an *información* a little over ten years after his father in 1584 with the hope of securing the designation as *escribano real*. Esteban's petition was for the title in the rich silver mines and city of Zacatecas, north of Mexico City, where his parents had spent some time as well – with a very different strategy than that pursued by his father.

Not one of the seven witnesses that testified on behalf of Esteban de Basiniana was discernably Genoese and none made mention of the Genoese origin of the family.[47] Most of the witness statements concerning the nobility and *limpieza* of Esteban and his parents were generic restatements of the notarial formula. One witness, a Francisco Beltrán who had known Esteban and his parents the least amount of time among the witnesses, diverged from the formula only to note that he was from the same place, or *tierra* as Esteban's mother and vouched for their nobility and *limpieza*.[48] The silence on the part of the witnesses is even more jarring in the testimony of Diego López de Alcaraz, an old student of Francisco Grillo de Basiniana's school in Mexico City some twenty years earlier, who diverted from the formula to include additional information and proofs in almost every question, except for the one concerning *limpieza* and nobility.

López de Alcaraz, the last witness in the *información*, also provides some insight into Esteban's strategy for selecting his witnesses. Rather than emphasizing the nobility of his family and position in Mexican society in his proof of merit petition, as his father had done, Esteban and his witnesses privileged information about his work history as a scribe for the past eight years,

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[47] The seven witnesses were: Juan de Paz; Alonso de Ávila León, *escribano publico* of Zacatecas; Pedro Venegas, *escribano* of the *real hacienda* of the mines of Zacatecas; Alonso Herrera; Cristóbal Arguello; Francisco Beltrán; Diego López de Alcaraz. All were either *vecinos* or *estantes* in Zacatecas.

[48] AGI, México, 172, N.61. "y conoce los deudos de la dicha su madre que son de la tierra deste testigo, los quales son de muy limpia e noble generación"

working in the offices of five local *escribanos*.[49] In fact, two of these employers were witnesses in the petition on Esteban's behalf. One of these was the prominent Pedro Venegas, a notary serving the mines and maintaining the registers of the royal treasury in Zacatecas. Esteban had assisted him not only with producing documents, but also with maintaining the account books while he was employed by Venegas.[50] The other, Alonso de Ávila León, was the public notary of the mines of Zacatecas and further assisted Esteban by producing the petition for him together with another of Basiniana's former employers named Pedro Navarrete. The emphasis on scribal training and experience was also at the fore in Diego López de Alcaraz's longest digression in his testimony. When asked a relatively straightforward question concerning the legitimacy of Esteban de Basiniana's birth, López de Alcaraz went on to relate the many discussions he had had with Francisco Grillo de Basiniana about the affection he had for his son and his desire that he should become an *escribano*: "he was a very good scribe and had much ability, and for his part if God gave him health and years of life, he should do everything possible to advance his virtue."[51] In this way, the strategy becomes clear that even a question about his family life should emphasize his ability as a scribe. Esteban's petition was ultimately successful and he received the title of *escribano real*.

The example provided by the Grillo de Basiniana family suggests that generational change alone cannot explain the shifts in emphasis appearing after mid-century, yet it is less clear that this was not a response to the particular context of New Spain and the Americas in

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[49] AGI, México, 172, N.61. "usando oficio de escribiente y official en los oficios publicos de Pedro Navarrete y Alonso de Avila Leon y en el de Pedro Venegas, scribano de minas y registros y de la real hacienda destas minas donde al presente esta y en la ciudad de México en el oficio de Diego Rodríguez de León scribano publico della y asymismo ha oido desir estuvo en el oficio de Alonso de Santillán scribano público en la dicha ciudad"

[50] AGI, México, 172, N.61. "*scribano de minas y registros y de la real hacienda destas minas.*"

[51] AGI, México, 172, N.61. "era muy buen scribano y tenia mucha abilidad y que por su parte si dios le daba salud y vida avía de hazer lo posible para que pasase adelante con su vertud."

general. A dissimulated ambiguous integration seems to have been more common in the Americas, particularly given the lack of a similar institutional framework to reinforce communal identity.[52] The Genoese origin of two other families in New Spain closely connected to the Audiencia was also dissimulated in their proofs of merit in much the same way. The first of these was established in Mexico City by Melchor Gentil, who was of mixed Genoese and Castilian ancestry and was married to a Castilian wife.[53] In his passage to New Spain in 1538, Melchor is listed simply as a *vecino* of Seville.[54] In 1559, he collected witness testimony to petition for an increase in his salary as the doorman (*portero*) of the Audiencia in Mexico City, a post he had held since 1548. The questions attempted to have witnesses discuss the family's reputation and the extent of Melchor's dedication to his office, as well as the family's need for financial assistance, given that Melchor had no other source of income to support his eight children.[55] All the witnesses presented were Castilians and nearly all connected with the Audiencia in some way.[56] The witnesses did not elaborate much on any of the eleven questions except the final one describing the general economic situation in Mexico City, where they argued expenses on even the most basic necessities far outstretched their salaries.

A few years later, Melchor's son Diego Gentil commissioned a successful petition in 1562 to take over the office from his father, who "has spent his life [in this office] and is [now]

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[52] For more on the impact of a lack of institutional infrastructure in the Americas and Madrid on the apparent assimilation of foreign merchants, particularly in the seventeenth century, see Herrero Sánchez, "Foreign Communities in the Cities of the Catholic Monarchy."

[53] AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 135v.

[54] This is interesting, given that Melchor later clarified in 1559 that he had lived alone in New Spain for about five years before bringing his wife and child Diego in 1538. See AGI, Mexico, 207, N. 17. f. 1v.

[55] Melchor had even lost an eye in the course of his duty accompanying the *oidores* one night. AGI, Mexico, 207, N. 17. f. 2r.

[56] Witnesses for Melchor Gentil included: Diego Tellez, *abogado* of Audiencia; Cristobal de Benevente, *fiscal* of the Audiencia; Antonio de Turcios; Nicolas Aleman, *abogado* of the Audiencia; Francisco Ramirez, *procurador* of the Audiencia; Albaro Ruiz, *procurador* of the Audiencia; and Juan de Guevara, *escribano* of the Audiencia.

very old."[57] The witnesses deposed in this case, all but one of whom were Castilian, testified to the family's honor and good standing as well as Diego's eligibility for the office, but again none mentioned the Genoese past of the family.[58] Diego also included a copy of a previous petition commissioned by his father. A similar approach informed the 1583 petition of Diego's brother Gaspar Gentil, who sought the post of *receptor*, or court reporter, of the Audiencia.[59] The witnesses were all Castilian and connected with the Audiencia, but the testimony here avoided any reference to the family beyond his brother Diego and father Melchor, and even then they were only mentioned to highlight the family's service.[60] In this way, the Gentil family's strategy shifted much like that of the Grillo de Basiniana family's, turning away from claims based on reputation, *hidalguía*, and *limpieza* and encouraging testimony that discussed their professional activities.

The one witness of Genoese origin included in Diego Gentil's proof of merit was a member of the Riberol family, which was also firmly enmeshed in the Audiencia of Mexico City. The two families were also connected by bonds of friendship that likely extended back to Seville, with Vicencio Riberol going so far as to disclose his personal friendship with Melchor Gentil when asked the *preguntas generales* about potential conflicts of interest.[61] Like the

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[57] AGI, México, 207, N. 17. f. 2r. "a gastado la vida y está muy viejo"

[58] Witnesses for Diego Gentil included: Blas de Morales; Juan de Salazar, *procurador* of the Audiencia; Juan de Alcala; Vicencio de Riberol, *procurador de pobres* of the Audiencia; Albaro Ruiz, *procurador* of the Audiencia; and Juan de Albila.

[59] AGI, México, 216, N. 59. His petition was successful and he was confirmed in the post in 1585: AGI, México, 172, N. 52.

[60] Witnesses for Gaspar Gentil included: Estevan de Porras, *relator* of the Audiencia; Hernando de Robles, *oidor* of the Audiencia; Juan Lopez de Sande, *relator* of the Audiencia; Cristobal de la Cerda, *relator* of the Audiencia; and Juan Serrano, *receptor* of the Audiencia.

[61] The most common declarations here were the disclosure of kinship ties, both genealogical and spiritual (godparents). This is the only instance I have encountered where a witness cited their friendship. It is also notable that Vicencio was the only witness to refer to their reputation not only in Mexico City, but also in

majority of the witnesses called on by the Gentil family, Vicencio worked for the Audiencia in Mexico City in a variety of offices over the course of his career, ranging from *escribano* to *procurador de los pobres*. His son Juan de Riberol also worked at the Audiencia, but he served as an interpreter for indigenous litigants. He commissioned a proof of his merit in 1565 following a similar strategy as the Gentil and Grillo de Basiniana families in terms of choosing primarily Castilian witnesses and shifting the focus away from discussion of the family, including only vague references to their reputation in the city and no reference to their Genoese origin.[62] It thus appears that families of Genoese origin in New Spain for the most part dissimulated that identity in their petitions, selecting only Castilian witnesses at the expense of their Genoese compatriots (of which there seems to have been a significant number in the region). They increasingly turned the focus to their professional merits and gave only cursory attention to the questions about their family, reputation, and *limpieza*.

The institutional context in New Spain might explain the prevalence of this strategy across the Atlantic. In Seville, Genoese merchants had at their disposal a constellation of institutions that aided in solidifying the "national" community. These institutions included a consulate that provided collective representation and defended the merchants' interests, as well as a hermitage and later a chapel in various locations around the city that provided a focal point for community identity and burial that extended memory across generations. This institutional framework was not replicated across the Atlantic, where foreigners were not officially permitted. There are references to a national chapel in the Canaries and there seem to have been some

Seville, which together with his claim to having known the family for more than thirty years confirms that he had known Melchor before they arrived in New Spain.

[62] AGI, México, 208, N. 32. Witnesses for Juan de Riberol included: Pedro de Requena; Juan Alcalá; Alonso Ortiz de Zúñiga, an elder conquistador; and Francisco Muñoz del Guiso.

institutions that were frequented by foreigners, yet there are no references to a dedicated national chapel or consulates in the Americas for the Genoese, other Italians, or other foreign merchant groups.[63] Some have also argued that this situation – i.e. "the Crown's strong opposition to accepting in the Indies similar conditions to those enjoyed by foreigners in its European dominions" – "obliged [foreigners] to insert themselves into the existing gaps of sociability and to integrate with the 'Spanish' if they wished to continue with their activities – behavior that was far from voluntary."[64] Yet, it has been argued that within the context of the viceroyalty of Peru that the institutional vacuum across the sea actually strengthened kinship and business ties on an individual level among compatriots.[65] While it appears that these merchants were not as liminal as those living in Seville, the case studies presented throughout this dissertation suggest that assimilation did not necessarily erode their ambiguous integration. Rather, what the sources suggest is a shift toward dissimulation both across the Atlantic and within Seville as well – once the pressures of economic distress, the weakening of the consulate, and anti-foreigner discourse converged after the middle of the sixteenth century.

Reputation, Dissimulation, and Shifting Emphasis

While it is clear that it would have been more difficult to mobilize foreign identity or ancestry across the Atlantic, the geographic and institutional differences alone cannot account for the broader shift from liminality to dissimulated ambiguous integration. This is clearly illustrated

[63] In Lima, the Hospital del Espiritu Santo was founded for "gentes del mar" and was frequented by foreigners in general, including Genoese, who left donations in their wills and were buried there. See Almorza Hidalgo, "El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú, 1580-1640."

[64] Herrero Sánchez, "Foreign Communities in the Cities of the Catholic Monarchy," 195.

[65] There also appears to have been a distinction between the Genoese in Peru, who seem to have arrived directly from Genoa as agents without families, and those who immigrated to New Spain, who were more firmly enmeshed in Sevillian networks and often accompanied by family. See Almorza Hidalgo, "El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú, 1580-1640," 897–99; 904.

by the following cases that show a similar shift occurring in Seville and the Canary Islands, pushing these families toward dissimulation, renunciation, or a mix of the two. The first of these cases centers on another Pinelo family living in Seville at the end of the sixteenth century. It was unrelated to the family of the *factor* Francisco Pinelo, except through shared membership in the *albergo* of the Pinelli. Much like the families discussed thus far in this chapter, this one nearly completely neglected a potentially useful aspect of their more recent Genoese ancestry as they and the witnesses that were presented on their behalf focused on the family's Castilian ties.

As a prospect for a lucrative canonry in the cathedral of Seville, Agustín Pinelo had to prove his *limpieza de sangre* and the nobility of his family. The process was similar to proving *hidalguía*, but as a result of the additional focus on *limpieza* for an ecclesiastical office, there was greater focus on the corroboration of genealogical information going back three generations, testifying to the status of the individuals in terms of nobility and religious credentials. Agustín Pinelo was the son of the merchant Luco Pinelo, who had immigrated to Seville from Genoa in the late 1560s and married the daughter of Angela de Villafranca and Cristobal Francisquin, a Lucchese partner of the prominent Basque banker Domingo de Lizarrazas in Seville. Villafranca was the daughter of a Catalan woman (later a nun at the Royal Monastery of Gigena) and a Sevillian merchant with connections in Barcelona. The witnesses are silent about when Angela's mother had entered the monastery and whether or not her parents were married at the time of her birth. Nevertheless, Angela's mother's residence at the Monastery of Gigena was a fact repeatedly cited as proof of the nobility of this branch of the family, since the monastery was restricted to noblewomen with proven *limpieza de sangre*.[66] Agustín Pinelo's kinship ties were thus quite diverse. (**Figure 22**)

[66] ACS, Exp(edientes) de L(impieza) de Sangre, L. 07576, Exp. A-12

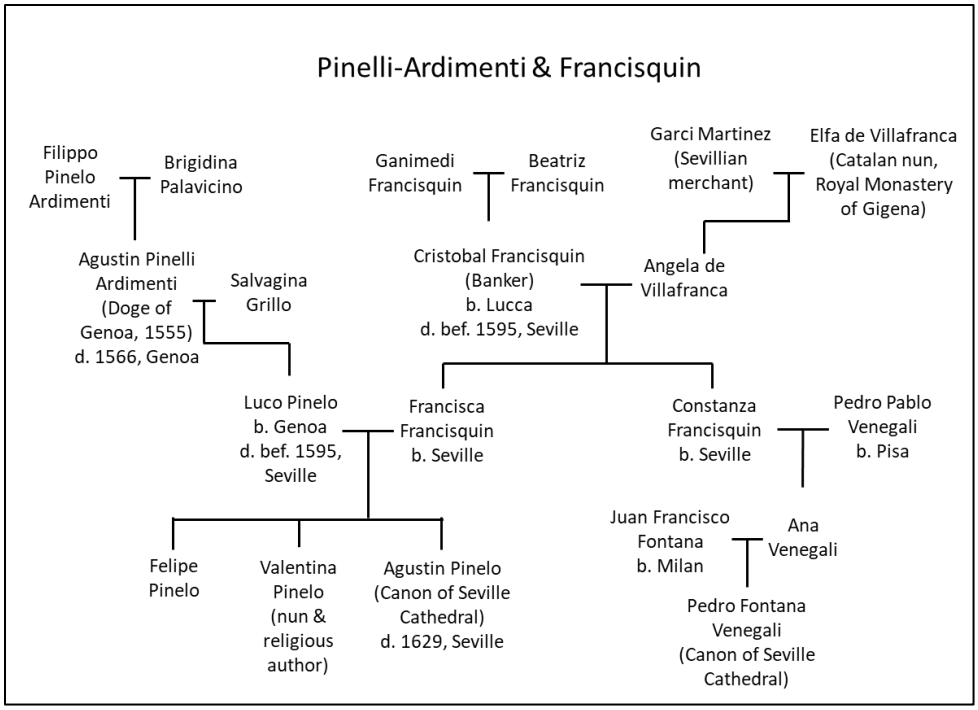

Figure 22: Pinelli-Ardimenti & Francisquin Family Tree.

The selection of witnesses for Agustín Pinelo's *limpieza* case also illuminates some of the differences between earlier suits of *hidalguía* in Seville and Granada that parallel the *limpieza* proofs instigated in New Spain. Nearly all of those testifying in the *hidalguía* petitions at the beginning of the century were members of the Genoese community in Seville, whereas there were only three Genoese witnesses who testified for Agustín Pinelo Ardimenti.[67] In fact, most of the witnesses were not only Castilians, but also in some way related to his maternal great-grandfather, the Sevillian merchant Garcí Martínez. These witness-relatives were members of the middling class of the urban patriciate, including among their number *jurados*, a medical doctor, and merchants. This may also have been the reason why Agustín's blood purity and nobility are focused on his maternal relatives. These witnesses would have been able to speak to the

[67] Witnesses for Agustín Pinelo included: Pedro Sofia, Genoese *estante* in Seville; Lucían Espíndola, *vecino* of Seville; and Cesar Lercaro, *vecino* of Seville.

reputation of these Iberian relatives more so than on the nobility of his Genoese or Lucchese ancestors, whom most of the witnesses did not know beyond the general recollection of them as foreigners.

It is even more surprising that this side of Agustín's family did not receive greater attention, given the testimony of just one of the three Genoese witnesses. Pedro Sofia, a Genoese merchant living in Seville who had worked with Agustín's brother, stated in his testimony that he had known Agustín's father in Genoa and that his namesake grandfather, Agustín Pinelo, had been Doge of the city.[68] Given the identification of the third generation, it is possible to identify this Agustín Pinelo as the Agostino Pinelli Ardimenti who served as Doge in 1555, and who had been mistakenly assassinated in 1566 instead of the anti-Spanish Doge who had succeeded him.[69] This occurred at around the time that the canon Agustín Pinelo's father Luco had left Genoa for Seville. Thus, Agustín's ancestors had been members of the Ardimenti family that had been incorporated into the *albergo* of the Pinelli as a result of the reforms of 1528.[70] By the end of the sixteenth century, the fact that an ancestor had held even such an illustrious office as Doge of Genoa did not necessarily have the currency it would have had at the beginning of the century, when the Pinelo brothers and others insisted so heavily on the equivalence of Genoese office-holding as evidence for Spanish *hidalguía*.

That is not to say that Agustín Pinelo's family had Hispanicized more fully than the Pinelo brothers and severed ties with Genoa and the Genoese community in Seville. The Pinelos continued to have working ties with other Genoese living in the city, whether it was with the

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[68] ACS, Exp. L. Sangre, L. 07576, Exp. A-12

[69] See also the letter from the infamous Antonio Pérez to Philip II, briefing him on the assassination and his desire to help those behind the attempt on Luca Spinola's life, which mistakenly resulted in Pinelli's death. AGS, Consejo de Estado, L. 1396, Exp. 184.

[70] ACS, Exp. L. Sangre, L. 07576, Exp. A-12

estante Pedro Sofia who worked with Agustín Pinelo's unnamed brother, or Lucián de Espíndola, a *vecino* of Seville who administered Agustín's *hacienda*.[71] Rather, it demonstrates the effects of the deterioration of public opinion on the weight that could be given to certain aspects of these individuals' identities in order to obtain whatever office or privilege was in question. The example of the Pinelli Ardimenti demonstrates how processes like those occurring across the Atlantic (from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola and Mexico) were playing out in a similar way in Seville. Thus, rather than being caused by the geographic and institutional differences these merchants faced across the sea – though it undoubtedly exacerbated things – the anti-foreigner discourse prevalent in the period must be taken into account. This is even more apparent in the subsequent case, where it is clear that the language of this discourse and the attendant principal counterarguments were being mobilized by lawyers and officials.

Rehabilitating and Renouncing Ambiguity

The final case presented in this chapter highlights the way a single family dissimulated and even renounced their ambiguous integration and Genoese identity, both in Seville and across the Atlantic. It also demonstrates the clear connection between anti-foreigner discourse and the practice surrounding the identification of these merchants. The densely intertwined Salvago, Justinian, and Espinola families that operated out of Seville and made their way from the city to the Canary Islands, Santo Domingo, and Mexico are particularly illustrative of this mixed approach, combining strategic appeals to a Genoese past, privileging the current generation's Castilian or Canarian *naturaleza*, and even renouncing all ties to Genoa within only a few years of each other and within the same generation.

[71] Ibid.

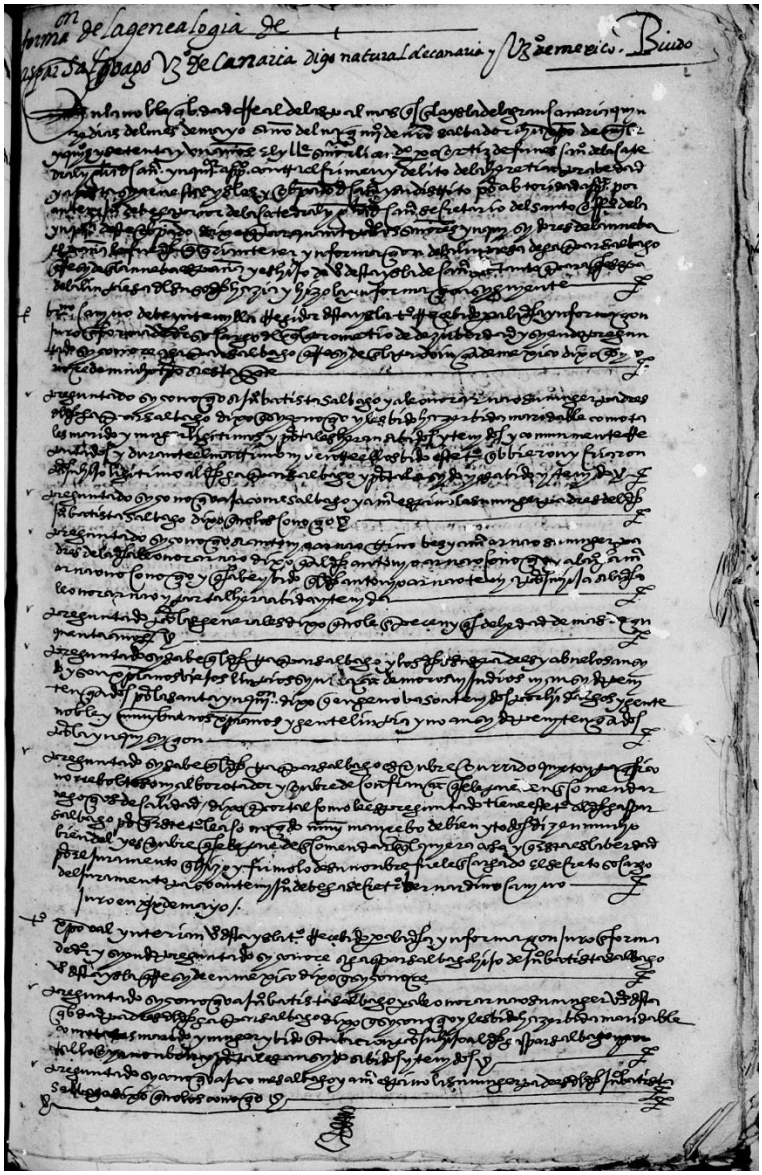

Figure 23: Gaspar Salvago's Proof of *Limpieza de Sangre*. AGN, Inquisición, 60, N. 2.

A member of this family, named Gaspar Salvago, sought to become a familiar of the Inquisition in Mexico City in 1571. In his proof of *limpieza de sangre* he cautiously capitalized on his Genoese ancestry. While Genoese identity and networks were not as forcefully utilized in this *probanza* as they were by the second generation of Vivaldos discussed in the previous chapter, it was not as dissimulated as it was by the third generation of that family or Gaspar's own siblings. Salvago's father had arrived on the island of Gran Canaria from Genoa at the turn

of the sixteenth century and married the daughter of another Genoese merchant who also served as an alderman, or *regidor,* of the city of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, where Gaspar was born and grew up. As a prerequisite for the position of familiar in Mexico City, Salvago had to prove the *limpieza de sangre* of his family, but the dossier only survives in part. While it does not have the self-reflective presentation of the petitioner, it does preserve the statements of the witnesses interviewed in Gran Canaria about Salvago and his family.[72] Some of these may have been suggested as witnesses by Gaspar, but they might also have been chosen by inquisition officials alone. It is difficult to say with certainty how each witness was selected without the list of potential witnesses that Gaspar would have originally provided. As a comparison, the witnesses he presented for the proof of merit he commissioned about his *encomendero* father-in-law a decade earlier in 1560 suggests that Salvago may have been more likely to seek testimony from Castilians more than Genoese relatives and associates.[73] Nevertheless, the testimony that survives provides some insight into the way Genoese identity might be used in such claims past mid-century, while also demonstrating the increasing shift toward the elision of that identity.

Eight witnesses were deposed concerning Gaspar Salvago's fitness for office and the *limpieza* of his family, of which half were Castilians. These witnesses made general statements about Gaspar and his grandparents' purported *limpieza* and nobility, founded on the reputation they had enjoyed on the island. Many of these witnesses did not have anything to say about the

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[72] Additionally, the portion that would have discussed his in-laws is missing. In 1560 Gaspar Salvago commissioned a proof of merit to secure an office in New Spain. Rather than present his own merits, the proof focused on those of his deceased father-in-law, the *conquistador* and *encomendero* Gaspar de Avila y Quiñones, and the need faced by Gaspar Salvago's two daughters as the conquistador's descendants. AGI, Patronato, 65, N. 2, R. 6.

[73] Of these witnesses, almost all were Castilian and many were *conquistadors* and *encomenderos*. The sole exception was Salvago's distant relative and associate, the Genoese merchant Tolomeo de Espíndola, who is discussed further below. The list of witnesses included: Diego de Burgos; Juan de Santa Cruz; Pedro de Villegas; Simón Pascua; Francisco de Granada, *conquistador*; Gregorio de las Rivas, *conquistador* and *poblador* of Mexico City; Juan Pérez, *conquistador*; Pedro Núñez, *poblador antiguo* of Mexico City.

Genoese identity of this family, and Gaspar himself is not described as Genoese by either the witnesses or the Inquisition officials, but rather solely as a native of Gran Canaria. The other four witnesses were of Genoese descent, though they were not all explicitly identified as such.[74] Nevertheless, most of these witnesses went a bit further than their Castilian counterparts with their testimony, discussing the reputation of the Salvagos in Genoa utilizing the terminology of *hidalguía* and applying it to Genoese society in much the same way as the Vivaldo brothers and their witnesses did in Seville at around the same time.

The Genoese merchant Cosme Cibo, for example, said that he had known Gaspar's parents, Juan Bautista Salvago and María Espínola, and recalled having "heard from old men that he was of the Salvagos of Genoa, prominent people, nobles, and untainted (*limpios*) … and he knew their relatives in Genoa to be [such]."[75] While a bit more cagey about certifying Gaspar and his family's *limpieza,* since he had not met his grandparents, the Salamanca-trained *letrado* of Genoese origin and vice-governor of the island, Dr. Angel Lercaro, nevertheless argued that there were no *confessos* in Genoa and so they must be recognized to have *limpieza de sangre* by default. This is a particularly clear example of the way perceptions of Genoa and its society might be harnessed for claims in Castilian contexts, even at the same time that the family appears to lean increasingly into their Castilian *naturaleza* within a single generation.

[74] Genoese witnesses: Bernardino Canino de Ventimiglia, *regidor* & *sargento mayor* of Las Palmas; Cosme Cibo, merchant; Luis Paez (Paese); Dr. Angel Lercaro, *teniente de gobernador* of Gran Canaria.

[75] AGN, Inquisición, 60, N. 2, unfoliated. "conoció a Juan Bautista Salvago su padre y entendió a hombres antiguos que hera de los Salvagos de Génova y gente principal y nobles y limpios y lo mismo de parte de, Maria de Espinola su madre y ha conosido sus deudos en Génova gente principal y limpios..."

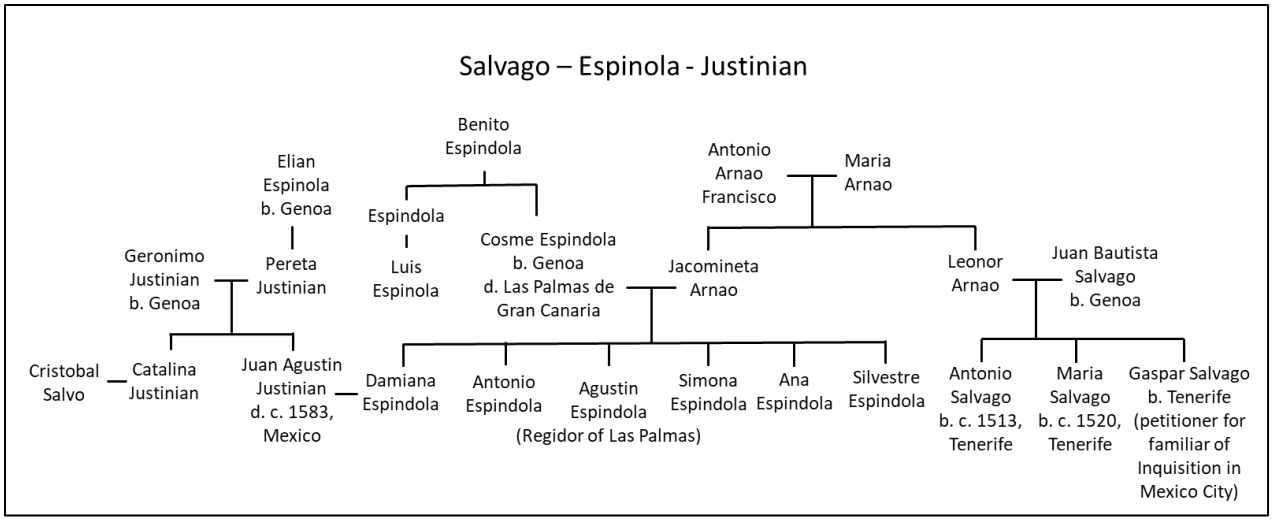

Figure 24: Salvago-Espíndola-Justinian Family Tree.

Gaspar Salvago was joined in Mexico City by several first cousins on his mother's side who had been born in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. These cousins were the children of the Genoese merchant Cosme Espínola and Jacomina Arnao. (**Figure 24**) They also served in the local administration of Las Palmas as aldermen (*regidores*) before their move to Santo Domingo and Mexico. While the brothers Silvestre and Agustín Espínola[76] seem to have moved to take advantage of economic opportunities with paternal relatives in Mexico (such as the merchants Polo and Tolomeo Espínola residing in Vera Cruz), their brother-in-law Juan Agustín Justinian seemed to have left Gran Canaria to flee debts after a bankruptcy in the 1560s.[77] A few years

[76] It is possible he is the same Agustín Espínola whom the aforementioned Juan Bautista Pinelo entrusted with eight million maravedis worth of merchandise to sell in New Spain in 1571 and who subsequently absconded with the proceeds. It was because of this loss that Pinelo sought license to travel to New Spain to collect what he could from Espínola in 1574. AGI, Indiferente, 2056, N.22 and Contratación, 5225A, N.1, R.36. This seems to have ended better than another similar case between the merchant Juan Antonio Corzo and his factor Francisco Corzo, who was brought back to Seville in chains in 1563. The arguments between them at the consulate became so heated that a swordfight broke out and Francisco was wounded. See Sarabia Viejo, "Presencia italiana en Nueva España y su conexión Sevillana (1520-1575)," 437.

[77] AGI, México, 212, N. 28. In 1572 his wife's relative, Tolomeo de Espínola seems to have been mistakenly identified as Justiniano by royal authorities in Madrid. They instructed the court of appeals of New Spain to arrest him and confiscate his estate to cover the debts from bankruptcy in Gran Canaria and the fraud of which he was accused in terms of royal taxes on silver from Zacatecas. Witnesses informed the authorities in Mexico City, however, that Tolomeo did not match the description of him sent by Madrid – though Juan Agustín

later, in 1569, he sent for his wife Damiana Espínola, who also brought her widowed mother and three sisters to live with her and Justinian in Mexico.[78] Their petition made no mention of the family's Genoese origins, identifying them simply as natives of the island of Gran Canaria. Dissimulation was certainly not an option for all families with Genoese roots and was easier for those with a mix of Castilian parentage and connections. The example presented by these Justinian and Espínola families nevertheless demonstrates that it was not a path entirely closed to those who continued to marry endogamously.

In fact, they were joined by many others who made no mention of Genoese identity in their petitions for license to travel to the Americas, especially from the mid-sixteenth century forward. A search of the Contratación and Indiferente sections of the Archivo General de Indias utilizing the Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES) returned seventy six relevant petitions between 1511 and 1632, repeating some of those that had previously been identified by María Justina Sarabia Viejo.[79] These petitions were gathered by searching for the term "genoves" and the surnames of Italian families living in Seville in the sixteenth century enumerated by previous scholars, as well as the surnames of those discussed throughout this dissertation.[80] The proportion of those who identified themselves, their parents, or even grandparents as being of Italian origin in these petitions significantly drops at mid-century, and continues a downward

Justinian did. See Tolomeo's defense in AGI, Mexico, 212, N. 28. and the royal charges in AGI, México, 1090, L. 7, f. 10r-10v. In 1574 Tolomeo Espínola ran afoul of royal authorities again, but this time on the charge of abandoning his wife Mariana Pinelo in Seville. She had successfully petitioned in Madrid and the court of appeals of New Spain sent Espínola and what they could of his estate back to Castile. He was subsequently forbidden from further travel to the Americas. See also AGI, México, 1090, L. 7, f. 291v.

[78] AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 3, f.

[79] Sarabia Viejo, "Presencia italiana en Nueva España y su conexión Sevillana (1520-1575)."

[80] These petitions were gathered by searching for the term "genoves" and the surnames of Italian families living in Seville in the sixteenth century enumerated by previous scholars, as well as the surnames of those discussed throughout this dissertation. See also ibid.; Bello León, "Mercaderes extranjeros en Sevilla en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos"; Lacueva Muñoz, *Comerciantes de Sevilla,* 2016.

trend for the remainder of the century and into the next. (**Figure 25**) That there are considerably more requests for such licenses at the end of the century shows that this was not necessarily a decline in Genoese migration across the Atlantic.[81]

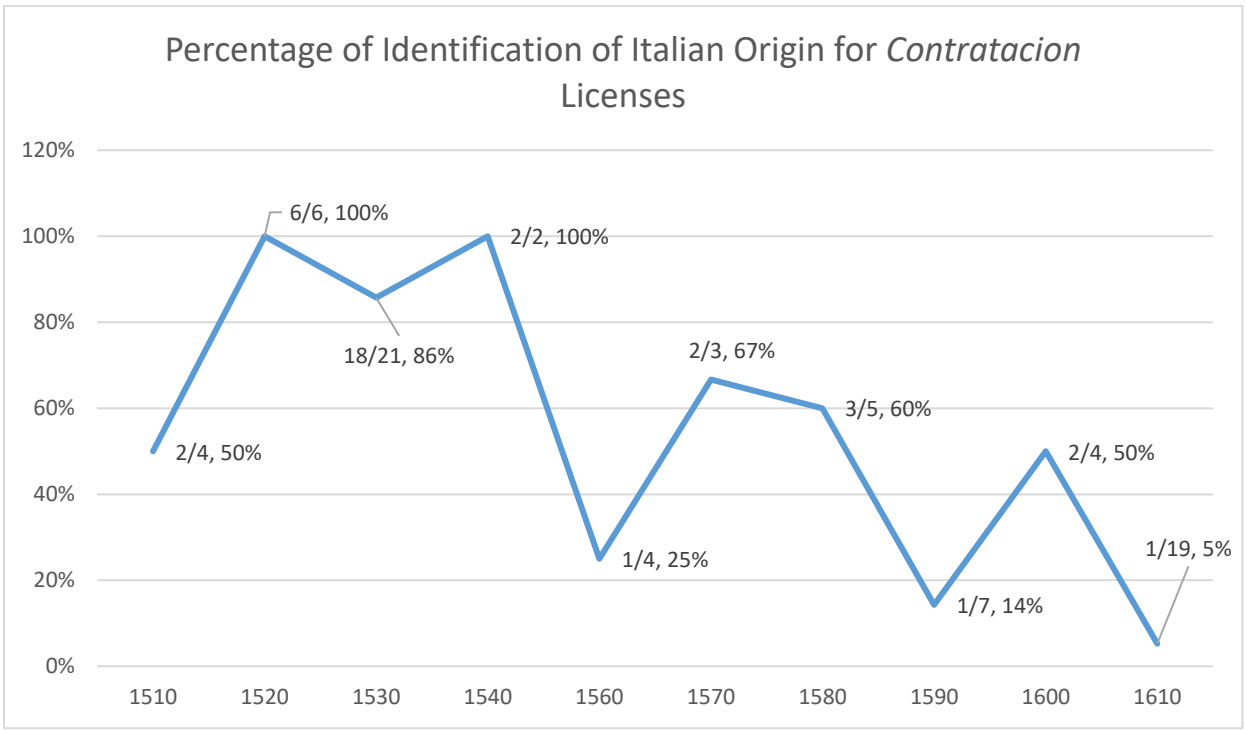

Figure 25*:* Percentage of licenses to travel to Americas in which the petitioner identifies as being of Italian origin. Source: Appendix 3 Table of *Contrataciónes a Indias*.

A first cousin of the Salvago-Espínola siblings, Luis Espínola, also petitioned for license to travel to Mexico later in the same year that Damiana, her mother, and siblings had made the crossing. The stated reasons for his trip changed over the course of his successive petitions to the House of Trade and the Council of the Indies.[82] While the earliest of these only identify his intentions to collect debts from partners and relatives in Mexico, these were later softened and

[81] This is likewise supported by the work of Catia Brilli for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*.

[82] AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 72.

joined with claims that he had a greater number of relatives in Mexico than he did in Genoa, who coincidentally were very rich and wanted to arrange a beneficial marriage for him in Mexico.[83] This shift in emphasis is perhaps reflective of the general pattern followed by Castilians seeking licenses to immigrate to the Americas, who also presented witnesses recounting seeing letters from similarly wealthy relatives enjoining them to partake in the fruits of the Americas. This may have been suggested to Luis by the notary or a lawyer as a route more likely to receive royal approval.

Nevertheless, Luis faced a much more challenging process to obtain the license than his cousins, requiring a series of proofs of *naturaleza*, carefully curated witness testimony, a strong prefatory statement from Luis renouncing his ties to Genoa, and some negotiation on the desired results. The dossier Luis submitted to the Council of the Indies contained three sets of witness testimony, a copy of the royal letter granting his naturalization, and the petition he presented to the House of Trade. The first two sets of witness testimony in the dossier, the most recent, were commissioned in Madrid in June of 1570. The first of these collected the testimony of seven witnesses, four of which were Genoese residents at the royal court; two had travelled from Genoa to Castile a couple of years after Luis and one had travelled with him in 1559.[84] The Castilian witnesses were mostly merchants, *vecinos* of Madrid and Burgos. One of these Castilians was Miguel de Cantos, a royal retainer and an *alguacil* for the visitors (*visitadores*)

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[83] AGI Indiferente, 2052, N. 72. "yo tengo en la nueva españa muchos más deudos y más cercanos que en la ciudad de Génova los más de los quales están casados allá y muy ricos y haciendados y desean verme allá para ayudarme y favorecerme como ya me lo han ofrecido y me han pedido que me vaya para ellos dándome intender que me cassaran alla y me darán parte de sus haciendas."

[84] Witnesses include: Pero Doria, *estante* in Madrid; Lázaro Doria, *estante* in Madrid (came to Castile with Luis Espínola); Baltazar Catano, *estante* in Madrid (lived with Luis in Valladolid); Baltazar Palavecín, *estante* in Madrid (lived with Luis in Toledo). The Castilians were: Miguel de Cantos, *criado* of the king; Juan Martínez Zavaleta, *escribano* (writing the testimony); Geronimo de Mena, *vecino* of Burgos (met Luis at the fairs of Medina del Campo).

Lic. Gaspar de Jarava, Lic. Alonso Muñoz, and Dr. Luis Carrillo, charged with inspecting the running of the Audiencia of New Spain in the late 1560s. He seems to have been an important reference for Luis given the marginal annotation of "*ojo*" next to his testimony, which was used to focus the readers' attention. It is not clear whether this shorthand marker of importance was included by Luis Espínola and the notary who put the testimony together, or if it was written by officials of the Council of the Indies as part of their procedure to aid them in later review of the petition.

The main thrust of the testimony of these witnesses was to present Luis as a clear native of the kingdom of Castile who never returned to Genoa. The latter claim was repeated by witnesses more than a dozen times. One can almost hear the weariness of the notary in his singular addition near the end of one witness's testimony: "as it has already been stated." The witnesses also focused on describing Luis's relatives as natives of Gran Canaria, "eminent people, [who live] calmly and peacefully, [and are] people of great wealth and prominence" in New Spain.[85] Most of the witnesses also provided a litany of names to identify these relatives living in Mexico, specifying the degree of kinship in some cases. Nevertheless, Luis Espínola seems to have had second thoughts about submitting this collection of witnesses on its own, and two days later a second transcript was drawn up with only three Castilians, including a repetition of the testimony of one witness from the previous set.[86] Luis Espínola's inclusion of additional Castilian witnesses, resorting even to the repetition of a witness, is best explained by the tendency in other sections of this and in similar petitions to either balance testimony from compatriots and Castilians or focus primarily on Castilian testimony.

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[85] AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 72.

[86] These witnesses were: Juan Benítez de Zama, *vecino* of Mexico City; Juan Martínez Zavaleta (repeated); and Nicolao Reymundo, native of Valladolid.

This approach can also be seen in the petition he submitted to the House of Trade in Seville in October of 1569, which included the testimony of ten witnesses – half of which were of discernable Italian origin.[87] Only one of these witnesses was explicitly labeled Genoese and all were described as *vecinos* of Seville living in a variety of neighborhoods, though most were in close proximity to the old Genoese quarter near the cathedral. Central to this collection of testimony were proofs of Luis Espínola's residence in the city of Seville itself, which it was argued granted him the status of *vecino* and thus native of the kingdom of Castile. Luis's reputation as a *vecino* was a particularly important part of his argument; one witness even went so far as to claim he had no idea he was a native of Genoa until he had been asked to testify, having regarded him as a native of Castile for the near decade he had known him.[88] This may be a well-placed hyperbole, not uncommon among witnesses, but it might also be reflective of Luis's dissimulation of his foreign identity. It is thus striking that this emphasis on *vecindad* faded away in the portion of the dossier created in Madrid. There, he was no longer identified as a *vecino* but a resident of Seville, although the notary had to cross out *vecino* and replace it with *residente* at the outset of Luis's prefatory statement.

The final question Luis had his witnesses respond to consisted of a rather lengthy discussion of the royal practice of naturalizing foreigners, highlighting the financial benefits for the monarchy as well as the residents of the Americas. The language and structure of this question suggests it was a direct response to the negative public opinion following the same lines

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[87] The discernably Italian witnesses were: Niculaso Doria, *vecino* of Seville calle Abades; Carlos Espínola, *vecino* of Seville calle Francos; Francisco de San Julián, *vecino* of Seville and naturalized Milanese; Jacome Cataño; José Grimaldo. The Castilians were: Julio Sera; Luis Pérez; Gaspar Pérez; Diego de Almonte, a cloth merchant; and Pedro de Sepúlveda.

[88] AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 72. (testimony of Julio Sera, *vecino* of Sevilla) - "siempre lo a tenido e tiene como natural y vecino desta ciudad hasta ahora que ha sabido que es Ginoves de nación y lo tiene por vecino originario desta ciudad"

as the anonymous *Representación*, which defended the activities of foreign merchants in Castile with similar economic arguments.[89] He also went further than these arguments in favor of naturalization. In addition to the witness testimony that he commissioned in Madrid early the following year, with its emphasis on his continued residence in Seville without having returned to Genoa, Luis also prefaced the entire dossier with a firm statement renouncing his Genoese ties and identity. In this statement, he echoed what might be taken as the main points of the two sets of witness testimony. He described the process of his naturalization, rooted in the law (*derecho*) that he argued granted naturalization to those who lived ten consecutive years or more in the kingdom. He added that "for my greater satisfaction, I obtained and secured a letter of naturalization from your highness, by which you make me a native of these kingdoms, as though I had been born in them, and of all of the other kingdoms and lordships subject to the Crown of Castile."[90] These proofs were not enough it seems, and so Luis went further and framed the statement with a renunciation of his ties with Genoa:

> although I was born in Genoa, I have [resided] in these Kingdoms of Castile in the city of Seville and this court [Madrid] without having returned to Genoa, nor do I have parents, a wife, an estate, nor business or commerce in that city but rather all that I have and all of my business … is in the city of Seville and I have no desire or plan to return to the aforementioned city of Genoa.[91]

This renunciation is quite forceful, even if others made similar statements in petitions like this one or in their arguments in litigation for *vecindad* and *naturaleza*. For example, in response to

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[89] For more on this discourse and the *Representación* see Chapter 5.

[90] AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 72. "aunque por el dicho asiento y habitación y residencia en estos reinos conforme a derecho Hera y soy ávido por natural dellos pero para más satisfacción mía hube y gane carta de naturaleza de vuestra alteza por la cual vuestra alteza me hace natural de estos reinos de la misma manera que si hubiera nacido en ellos y de todos los demás reynos y señoríos sujetos a la corona de castilla."

[91] AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 72. "digo que, aunque mi nacimiento fue en Génova, ha más de honce años que estoy y resido de asiento y morada en estos reynos de castilla en la ciudad de sevilla y en esta corte sin aver vuelto a Génova ni tener en ella padres ni mujer ni hacienda ni trato ni comercio sino todo lo que tengo y los negocios en que me ocupo ... son en la ciudad de Sevilla sin tener fin ni propósito de volver a la dicha ciudad de Génova."

the interrogation of the city council of Seville in 1584 regarding his *vecindad*, the Genoese merchant and ship's captain Jacome Buenjorno (Bongiorno) stated that his intentions to remain in Seville were clear "since his parents were deceased and he had no necessity to return to his aforementioned land."[92] Moreover, he confirmed that since he had arrived in Seville some fourteen or fifteen years prior,

> he has always lived and resided in the city because, as previously stated, he came to it with a desire and determination to live and remain there as a householder and *vecino* and he has not made a single absence to any place other than the three trips he has made to the Indies, residing in his house as he presently has it and intends to have it until he dies.[93]

The majority of other similar statements are less forceful that Buenjorno and Espínola but nevertheless imply a past and future intention to remain in Seville and avoid travel elsewhere.[94] It is thus clear that explicit renunciation and distancing from Genoa were the result of an experience of push-back from Castilian officials questioning these merchants' intention to remain in Seville and the kingdom after their business had concluded. This is not surprising given the importance placed on intention and imbrication in the consideration of a newcomer's acquisition of *vecindad* and *naturaleza*.

Despite Luis's more forceful renunciation and efforts in providing documentation and witness statements, he was denied an indefinite stay in New Spain. This prompted a second statement that repeated much of the first but with the key modification to the stated amount of

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[92] AGI, Escribanía, 1069B, N. 20, f. 3v. "por ser como heran fallesçidos sus padres y no tener nesçesidad de bolver a la dha su tierra."

[93] AGI, Escribanía, 1069B, N. 20, f. 4v. "syenpre a estado y rresidido en ella porque como dho tiene vino a ella con ánimo y determinaçion de vivir y permanesçer como tal vezino domiçiliario y no fecho ninguna ausençia a ningunas partes más de los tres viajes que a fecho a las dhas yndias y tiene su casa poblada como a el presente la tiene y la piensa tener hasta que se muera."

[94] The phrasing included "estado y rresidido siempre en esta çiudad" or "siempre a estado en esta çiudad sin salir della". AGI, Contratación, 51A, "Autos hechos a pedimento de Bartolome Dongo, genoves, sobre su naturaleza," unfoliated. and Ibid. "Autos de Jacome Ariolo sobre naturalisarse para tratar y contratar en las Indias," unfoliated.

time he intended to stay in the Americas. Though Luis had requested at least three or four years, if not an indefinite license, he was ultimately given only two years to collect his debts and complete his business there. He was also required to pay the hefty sum of 1,000 ducats as surety that he would return after the license expired. Even with outright renunciation of his Genoese ties, the legal recognition of his naturalization, and the residence of relatives in New Spain, officials in Madrid were not sufficiently convinced that he should be accorded the full treatment of a *natural* and allowed to leave for the Americas indefinitely.

The cases involving this family between 1569 to 1571 provide evidence of the way they presented themselves at the end of the century: utilizing a mix of continued, though limited, invocation of Genoese identity to make claims (as seen in Salvago's proof of *limpieza*), as well as a distancing from that identity and the city (as seen in the petitions of Luis Espínola), depending on the circumstance. A comparison of the petitions for license to travel to the Americas over the course of the sixteenth century suggests that Genoese identity was becoming more polarized and ambiguous integration necessitated greater dissimulation. By the end of the century, it became increasingly necessary to rehabilitate Genoese identity through renunciation, unless dissimulation and intermarriage could provide the opportunity for some degree of cover through an ability to emphasize Castilian ties over Genoese ones.

Conclusion

Alongside the effects of successive generations living in Castilian communities and the diminishing of institutional reinforcers of a distinct communal identity across the Atlantic, the deteriorating image of foreign merchants – particularly the Genoese – worked to limit liminality and pushed merchants to choose between a shift in focus, dissimulation, and outright renunciation of their foreign identity. This discourse could serve as a substantial barrier to the

claims at the center of this and the previous chapter, from securing particular offices to the tax exemptions and privileges that came with *hidalguía* and *limpieza de sangre*. In the cases presented in this chapter, most of the families involved dissimulated their Genoese identity or descent. Even when it was made explicit it received far less attention than it had by members of the same families just a few decades earlier.

Those without Castilian ancestry might have opted to lean into naturalization, pushed at times even to the point of renouncing their Genoese identity and any familial or economic ties to the city, as demonstrated by Luis Espínola and Jacome Buenjorno. From the middle of the sixteenth century, only the wealthiest and best connected of these families continued to foreground their Genoese past and networks in such petitions, litigation, and memorialization. This is especially true for those who had become members of the titled nobility, such as the Vivaldo (Vizconde de Miraflores), Centurión (Marqués de Estepa), and Negrón (Señor de Casar, Torres, y Daganzo). Yet as demonstrated by the cases of the Pinelo and Vivaldo families discussed in this and the previous chapter, members of these same families might just as well opt for dissimulation at the turn of the seventeenth century, when anti-foreigner discourse fomented a context in which such identity was increasingly problematic.

Part III:

A Shifting Context: Discourses and Anxieties

Chapter 5:

The Discourses of Identification and Alterity

In Miguel de Cervantes's *Las dos doncellas*, the reader follows two ladies (Teodosia and Leocadia) on their pursuit of Marco Antonio Adorno, a womanizer from a prominent Genoese family living in a town outside Seville, which Cervantes refused to name. Adorno had promised marriage to them both, and after discovering that he had secretly joined the Spanish fleet going from Seville to Italy, the ladies – dressed as men and joined by Teodosia's brother and a servant – make their way over land, hoping to catch Adorno when the fleet anchors in Barcelona. They arrive in time to catch the fleet, but find the city engulfed in riotous violence stemming from the docks. A local informs the group that this was an ordinary occurrence every time the fleet arrived on its way to Italy.[1] The group finds Adorno wounded and they take the opportunity to interrogate him. He explains that having consummated his relationship with Teodosia and entertained himself by courting Leocadia – who secured a signed *cedula* from him promising marriage – he decided he would go to Italy "to employ the years of his youth" in what he might find there.[2] Nevertheless, Adorno succumbs to the exhortations of the group and resolves to stay in Spain and marry Teodosia, and her brother marries Leocadia.

Cervantes thus depicts a world in disorder, buckling under the weight of empire. The upheaval in Barcelona captures the populace's unease at the sight of the fleet taking the wealth of Spain to be "buried" in Italy.[3] It is suggestive that Adorno and the others have the same itinerary as the fabled American gold and silver, leaving Seville on its way to Italy. It is also no surprise

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[1] Cervantes Saavedra, "Las dos doncellas," 245.

[2] Ibid., 252.

[3] Quevedo, *Poesía original completa*. "Nace en la Indias honrado / donde el mundo le acompaña; / viene a morir en España / y es en Genova enterrado."

that the character of Adorno should be from an Andalusian Genoese family, given the actual presence of an important Adorno family in Jerez de la Frontera, just outside Seville.[4] Moreover, Adorno fits well within the popular pejorative representation of the Genoese as womanizers, the subjects of an uneasy alliance, and nothing less than leeches of Spanish wealth. Adorno's desire to see what Italy had to offer was not rooted in a search for honor or a sense of duty to uphold the empire with military and other service. Rather, it reflects the perception of Italy as a place to seek entertainment, just as the two Spaniards in *La senora Cornelia* (the novella directly preceding *Las dos doncellas*) postponed taking their positions with the Spanish army in the Netherlands in order to live out the drama unfolding before them in Italy.[5] The *doncellas* pursue Adorno in an effort to convince him to stay in Spain and fulfill his duty to them. This is perhaps reminiscent of Spanish hopes that their Italian allies would make a greater effort to contribute to the maintenance of empire, rather than leave them behind after having "already tasted the fruit."[6] This characterization was far from exceptional and could have significant effects on the position of Genoese merchants in the Iberian Atlantic.

This chapter revisits the image of the Genoese in Spanish literature, as well as references made in the Castilian Cortes, or parliaments, and the treatises of *arbitristas*, in order to demonstrate the anti-foreigner discourse, which has even been called a legal "crusade against foreign merchants" that limited the prevalence of a liminal style of ambiguous integration.[7] This

[4] For more on this family, see Blanco Dorado, "Estudio prosopográfico de la familia genovesa Adorno en Jerez de la Frontera"; Ruiz Pilares and Mingorance Ruiz, "La movilidad social de las naciones extranjeras en las ciudades andaluzas bajomedievales."

[5] Cervantes Saavedra, "La senora Cornelia."

[6] Cervantes Saavedra, "Las dos doncellas," 252.

[7] Almorza Hidalgo, "El fracaso de la emigración genovesa en el virreinato del Perú, 1580-1640," 906; See also Konetzke, "La legislación sobre inmigración de extranjeros en América durante el reinado de Carlos V."

discourse so clearly articulated in the literature of the Golden Age had deeper roots in the sixteenth century and beyond, imbricated in larger discourses of difference. Iberian perceptions of the Genoese have received some scholarly attention and have recently become the focus of renewed attention as part of a broader interest in the perception of foreigners in general.[8] In the case of the Genoese, most of this work has not utilized the variety of sources deployed here, nor connected the increased diffusion of these images across genres to the overall decline of institutionalized Genoese fortunes at the end of the sixteenth century. In fact, the institutional privileges granted to the Genoese from the thirteenth century forward created quite a different context for this community when compared with other foreign merchants, given their continued and privileged presence in Seville and elsewhere in the Peninsula.[9] Genoese merchants could also usually count on less political and military animosity in Castile as a result of their repeated alliances, though this deteriorated as the sixteenth century progressed. Lastly, they were also less affected – though not entirely – by perceived religious differences, as was the case with *conversos*, the English, and the Flemish (when mistakenly identified as Dutch).

Nevertheless, they also had to deal with the negative reputation invited by their role in royal finance and in American trade, as well as the extension of general animosity toward merchants and foreigners. These opinions already had some history in the neighboring Crown of Aragon, where animosity against the Genoese as competitors in the Mediterranean at times

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[8] Some examples include Herrero García, *Ideas de los Españoles del siglo XVII.*; Domínguez Ortiz, *Los extranjeros en la vida española durante el siglo XVII y otros artículos*; Pike, "The Image of the Genoese in Golden Age of Literature"; Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos"; Cavillac, "El discurso del 'mercader' y sus incidencias literarias."

[9] For more on these privileges, which included a Genoese quarter (*barrio*) in the city and a combination hostelry, market, and warehouse, which later became their auction house (*lonja*), seperate jurisdiction under two consuls, as well as a host of other tax privileges, see the Introduction and Álvarez, *El Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes genoveses establecidos en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XVI).*; González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XIII-XV)."

erupted into expulsions. Moreover, many of the stereotypes applied to the Genoese were also applied to foreign groups such as Jews, *conversos*, Muslims, *moriscos*, and Eastern Christians, among others.[10] Defining a group as untrustworthy foreigners was often accomplished through recourse to similar stereotypes, with the animosity varying in accordance with the degree of perceived political, cultural, and ethnic differences.

As the sixteenth century progressed, this discourse targeted against the Genoese, tied up with that against merchants in general, can be found in a broad array of material; from the petitions to the Castilian parliaments, to dramatic and literary productions, to the treatises of the bureaucratic *arbitristas* who sought to provide the monarchy with policy recommendations aimed at restoring the declining fortunes of the monarchy. The intensification of this discourse ran parallel with increased concern among religious and secular authorities over imposing conformity between an individual's outward appearance and their internal identity, increasingly the subject of novel forms of social disciplining.[11] This chapter illuminates the contours of these representations, their diffusion, and the discursive attempts at rebutting them.

Representations: Greed, Stained Consciences, and Cruelty

One of the principal stereotypes expressed about the Genoese concerned their greed, often accompanied by proverbial wealth. In fact, their economic prowess continues to be an important focal point in the study of Genoese and other Italian merchants in the Spanish world.[12]

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[10] Ferrer i Mallol, "Els italians a terres catalanes (Segles XII-XV)"; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 99–100.

[11] The examples presented by the Spanish approach to conversos and moriscos is particularly demonstrative. For an overview of this, see Ruiz, *Spanish Society, 1348-1700*; Fuchs, *Passing for Spain*; Lee, *The Anxiety of Sameness*. For a case study of the impulse to discipline both the internal and external forum, see Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*.

[12] To cite just some examples, see Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, esp. 287, 293, 501, 508-510; Igual Luis and Navarro Espinach, "Los Genoveses en España en el Tránsito del siglo XV al XVI"; Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos"; c.f. Varela, "Vida cotidiana de los florentinos en la Sevilla del Descubrimiento"; and Aparici Martí,

This fame for greed seems to have already been present in the fourteenth century when Boccaccio presented Genoese merchants as "rapacious and money-loving men," and so unscrupulous in their search for profit that they traded in Orthodox Christian slaves.[13] In the anonymous dialogue *Viaje de Turquia,* written around the middle of the sixteenth century, the principal narrator, Pedro de Urdemalas, encounters Genoese men throughout his travels in various circumstances, though the unifying factor between them is their ready access to wealth.[14] Likewise, Francisco de Quevedo represented the Genoese as "people who were naturally born for moneybags" in his *Vida del buscón* (1626).[15] Quevedo also described a Genoese man who walked with a page and a parasol, "quite like a rich man," who talked only about money.[16] In his controversial allegorical novel *El criticón* (1651-1657), the Jesuit Baltasar Gracián depicted the Genoese as such extensive hoarders of money that they could be considered the "treasury of Italy," and their abilities in working with it could be considered a mechanical marvel.[17] Moreover, in his play *Amigo, amante, y leal*, Calderón de la Barca described Genoa as "the World's sponge of gold."[18] The wealth of Genoese merchants and bankers is omnipresent, but it was an image applied to other Italians such as Venetians and Florentines, as well. The economic prowess of Italians was described by Gracián, noting that "if the Indies had been placed in the

Igual Luis, and Navarro Espinach, "Los inmigrantes y sus formas de inserción social en el sistema urbano del Reino de Valencia (siglos XIV-XVI)."

[13] Boccaccio, *The Decameron* II. 4 and V. 7.

[14] García Salinero, *Viaje de Turquía*, 115–16, 134, 159.

[15] Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón llamado don Pablos*, 175. "que es gente que naturalmente nació para bolsas."

[16] Ibid., 174–75. "Topamos con un que subía al Puerto con un paje detrás y el con su guardasol muy a lo dineroso. Trabamos conversación con el y todo lo llevaba a materia de maravedís."

[17] Gracián y Morales, *El criticón*, 739. "en Génova se ahúchan los doblones ... porque Génova la sirve de tesorera."

[18] Calderón de la Barca, *Amigo, Amante y Leal*.

hands of the Italians, they would surely have put it to good use!" and would likely have reaped its wealth more fully than the Spanish.[19]

However, this wealth was suspect because as Cristobal de Castillejo argued, "no one enriched themselves much with a clean conscience."[20] In the picaresque novel *La garduña de Sevilla* (1642), Castillo Solórzano equated his description of a Genoese merchant as "a man of substance" with the less generous description as "rather greedy."[21] The poetry of Tirso de Molina compared the greed of the Genoese to that of a mischievous and bottomless sea, describing Spanish coins fleeing Genoese rapacity in their attempt to remain in Castile, which also capitalized on their pejorative representation as womanizers.[22] This rapacity of the Genoese is likewise noted by Gracián, although the Spanish are not its only victims.[23] Quevedo went so far as to name them as one of the essential tools of a burglar and Antichrists.[24] Thus, greed, wealth, and a stained conscience went hand in hand.

Another moral failing often present in caricatures of Italians was the incorrect use of wealth in terms of Castilian ideals such as hospitality, such as that described by the poet Jorge

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[19] Gracián y Morales, *El criticón*, 739. "Pero si en manos de los italianos hubieran dado las Indias, ¡cómo que las hubieran logrado!"

[20] Castillejo, *Obras morales y de devoción*, 4:225. "Es forzado que le muerda / la conciencia al ginoves, / si pecó; / porque vos no dudéis, no, / y sabed, de cierta ciencia, / que nadie se enriqueció / mucho con buena conciencia."

[21] Castillo Solórzano, *La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas*, 104–5. "Era un poco codicioso, y aun si mucho dijéramos hablaríamos con más propiedad; era hombre de caudal."

[22] Molina, "En Madrid y en una casa," 1267. "Majuelo: Ya puede ser que no quieran, / como los demás, salir/ de Castilla estos doblones, / y desmintiendo buscones, / que los han de perseguir, / por ver que adelante pasa / la usura de su interés, / huyan de algún ginovés / y se nos entren en casa."

[23] The French are also the victims of the Genoese who took the bite out of their actions: "Inquietos los franceses, fuéronse entremetiendo, y deseosos de tener mano en todo, pidieron los braços… Pero los genoveses, de passo, les quitaron las uñas, no dexándoles ni con qué assir ni con qué detener las cosas." Gracián y Morales, *El criticón*, 435.

[24] Quevedo, "Prematica y aranceles generales." "Mandamos que puedan cualesquier de nuestra justicas prender a cualesquier personas que toparen de noche con grabato, escala, ganzua o ginoves, por ser armas contra las haciendas guardadas"; Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón llamado don Pablos*, 174.

Manrique in his *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*.[25] In his *Novelas ejemplares* (1613), Cervantes praises even modest hospitality above the frugality of the Genoese: "I am neither rich nor poor and without lamenting it or discounting it, as the Genoese do when they invite a guest to dinner, I can give a florin and even two to whomever I like."[26] Similarly, Pedro de Urdemalas notes in the anonymous *Viaje de Turqia* that the city of Genoa is home to all kinds of people, good and bad, though "they are no great spenders."[27] Urdemalas then launches into an aside about a Genoese man that he had known and helped evade work for more than a year while he had been a slave in Turkey. When Pedro met him again in Genoa on his return journey to Spain, where the merchant had returned to a position of wealth and prominence, Pedro received nothing more than a drink for the kindness he had shown him while they were captives. This lack of hospitality and its inherent cruelty, as noted by Pedro's friend and interlocutor Matalascallando, is identified as a common trait among the Genoese.[28] This connection between a lack of hospitality or frugality and inherent cruelty is further highlighted by the belief that Italians were particularly cruel.

Many of these pejorative representations also permeate Mateo Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599-1604), in which the narrator himself is of purported Genoese ancestry. Genoese cruelty and greed were at the root of their inhospitable initial welcoming of Guzman as his pleas for familial assistance are returned with punches (*puñadas*), slaps (*bufetónes*) and slurs: "*Marrano* knave! You a Genoese? You are rather the son of some great irreputable woman,

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[25] Manrique, *Poesía*.

[26] Cervantes Saavedra, "La gitanilla," 91. "no soy rico ni pobre: y sin sentirlo ni descontarlo, como hacen los ginoveses sus convites, bien puedo dar un escudo, y dos, a quien yo quisiere."

[27] García Salinero, *Viaje de Turquía*, 376. "De todo hay; no son muy largos en el gastar."

[28] Ibid.

which is clearly recognizable in you!"[29] It is not until Guzman returns under the pretense of wealth in the second volume that he is welcomed by his Genoese relatives, who he succeeds in fleecing with well-placed hospitality. Alemán thus skillfully plays with the representation of the Genoese as inhospitable by making Guzman's deceitful affability the key to his plan for revenge: "seeing that I was affable, generous and open-handed, I accredited myself in such a way that I bought their hearts, winning their goodwill."[30] Guzman's initial treatment is tempered with a digressing preface about the contrasting lot of the poor and rich man, which applies such treatment to all places. Nevertheless, Alemán argues that in this cruelty "Italy is first and foremost, and especially those of the region of Genoa," but it is a result of necessity and greed, or rather current circumstances in Italy rather than innate cruelty.[31] Thus, it was current circumstances that produced a portentous monster in Italy, said to have been born following an especially bloody battle at Ravenna in 1512:

> whose horn symbolized pride and ambition; the wings [of a bat] inconstancy and flippancy; the lack of arms, a lack of good works; the feet of a bird, rape, robbery, usury, and avariciousness; the eye placed on the knee, fixation on vanities and worldly things; the [hermaphroditism], sodomy and bestial brutality; all of which vices abounded throughout all Italy at that time.[32]

Alemán made multiple references to the spiritual and moral failings of Genoese merchants. He even included a parable which traced their lack of conscience to childhood, when even as

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[29] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016, I:378. "Bellaco marrano! Sois vos ginovés? Hijo seréis de alguna gran mala mujer, que bien se os hecha de ver!"

[30] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016, II:273. "viéndome afable, franco y dadivoso, me acredité de manera que les compré los corazones, ganándoles los ánimos"; See also Fuchs and Garcia-Arenal, *Quest for Certainty in Early Modern Europe*.

[31] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016, I:410. "Italia lleva la gala, y en ella más los de la comarca de Génova."

[32] Ibid., I:142. "Que el cuerno significaba orgullo y ambición; las alas, inconstancia y ligereza; falta de brazos, falta de buenas obras; el pie de ave de rapina, robos, usuras y avaricias; el ojo en la rodilla, afición a vanidades y cosas mundanas; los dos sexos, sodomía y bestial bruteza; en todos los cuales vicios abundaba por entonces toda Italia."

mischievous schoolchildren, the Genoese played with their consciences and left them battered and dirtied, only for their teacher to mistakenly return to them the conscience of another.[33] These deficiencies were also closely associated with deception as a primary method for enrichment motivated by greed.

Through Guzman's description of his father, he presents several examples of the *maña*, or particular skill – in this case of dissimulation – which the Genoese possessed. Already at the outset of his description, Guzman identifies his father's family as Levantine in origin, who had immigrated to Genoa and became assimilated into their nobility. This identification elides the distinction between Middle Eastern and Italian merchants, applying the same negative stereotypes of usury, effeminacy, and a hypocritical, showy religiosity.[34] Additionally, there was considerable overlap between pejorative representations of Muslims and those attributed to *conversos* and Jews which might also be appended to a Genoese merchant. For example, in 1524 the merchants Juan Baptista Salvago and Cosme Espíndola testified to the Inquisition in Gran Canaria that the latter had been told by a *converso* on the Island of Madera that "you Genoese are Jews like us."[35] Aleman's caricature is taken even further after Guzman's unsuccessful visit to Genoa, when he explains that the Genoese are often derogatorily called white moors, or *moros blancos*.[36]

This uneasy association with the Middle East is further complicated by Guzman's father's past in Algeria –his renunciation of Christianity and marriage to a "prominent Moor" while in

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[33] Ibid., I:410–11.

[34] Ibid., I:131.

[35] Birch, *Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts Formerly Belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands*, 1:39.

[36] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016, I:410.

captivity –which Guzman is at pains to explain away as a practical necessity. Through those actions, his father was able to get his life back on course and he was also not the sole participant in such activities: "My father followed along the same line as others and he was not the only one who sinned."[37] Lastly, Guzman's father's complicated past also gave him an edge in his affair with Guzman's mother, since it was hard to find anyone to match the "subtlety of a Levantine painted as Genoese."[38] In this way, Alemán captured the most salient parts of the pejorative representation of the Genoese as suspect dissimulators, with identities difficult to pin down, and a penchant for morally suspect dealings.

Much like Alemán, the Jesuit writer Baltazar Gracián in his *El Criticón* (1651-1657) argued that the Genoese were even more unsympathetic than the master-at-arms (charged with discipline aboard ships), rich men, and step-mothers.[39] The Genoese seem to have borne the brunt of this perceived difference in ideology. Although he was not exceedingly fond of Italians, Gracián believed that Italy served as a natural middle ground between the Spanish and the French, since the Italians "are not as servile as [the French], nor as haughty as [the Spanish], they equal the Spanish in ingenuity, and surpass the French in judgment, forming a great middle-ground between these two nations."[40] This slightly more favorable view of Italians in general is difficult to find among characterizations of the Genoese. Moreover, when Gracián listed what he perceived to be the dominant traits of the nations of the world, Italy's was deception, characterizing Neapolitans as particularly deceptive in their speech and the Genoese in their

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[37] Ibid., I:132–33, 142. "Iba mi padre con el hilo de la gente y no fue solo el que pecó."

[38] Ibid., I:153. "sutileza de un levantisco tinto en ginovés."

[39] Gracián y Morales, *El criticón*, 347.

[40] Ibid., 739. "ni son tan viles como estos, ni tan altivos como aquéllos: igualan a los españoles en ingenio, y sobrepujan a los franceses en juicio, haciendo un gran medio entre estas dos naciones."

actions. According to Gracián deception was such an admired trait in Italy that they considered it, along with "all its relatives: lying, swindling, trickery, fictions, plotting, and intrigue," to be "prudent and manly."[41] They are so crafty, according to Quevedo, that they could outmaneuver the devil.[42] Deception was thus seen to be pursued in nearly every activity, from trade to government and diplomacy.

This perception of Italians, and the Genoese in particular, may have also been rooted in their financial dealings with the monarchy and their operations with bills of exchange, which seem to have not been as well understood by the monarchy and its advisers.[43] Mateo Alemán gives the impression that these exchanges were also hardly understood by any outside of the merchants and bankers who enriched themselves through this practice, which they extended across the world and especially in Spain.[44] Perceived as deceptive, it was more difficult for these merchants to gain access to certain rights and exemptions restricted to natives, as it was more likely that their local communities would challenge their claims to *naturaleza* as a deception undergirding their aim to benefit economically at the kingdom's expense.[45] Genoese greed was thus characterized as focused on extracting the wealth of the Spanish kingdoms, and together with much of the rest of Europe, which also had its sights on Spanish wealth, the Genoese were one of the main causes of the economic difficulties emerging at the end of the sixteenth century. Thus, the Genoese were depicted as one of the primary leeches of Spanish wealth: "if Spain had

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[41] Ibid., 265. "en toda aquella provincia está muy valido [el engaño] con toda su parentela: la mentira, el embuste y el enredo, las invenciones, traças y tramoyas; y todo ello dizen es política y tener brava testa."

[42] Quevedo, "El Alguacil Alguacilado."

[43] Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 509. For a recent look at the anxieties surrounding bills of exchange in this period, see Trivellato, *The Promise and Peril of Credit*.

[44] Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 2016, I:134.

[45] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003.

not had the drain of Flanders, the bloody wars of Italy, the weight of France, and the leeches of Genoa, its cities would now be paved with gold and walled with silver."[46] Other Italian cities, such as Venice and Naples, also had their part to play in the extraction of glass and silk from the Spanish kingdoms, although they paled in comparison to Genoa, which mercilessly extracted both bullion and merchandise.[47] These representations in literature and drama were certainly among the realm of potential caricatures that Castilians could choose from in framing their view of an Italian neighbor. In addition to their presence in narrative fiction, the key elements of these representations also appear in the treatises of *arbitristas* and in the petitions of the *procuradores* to the Castilian Cortes of the late sixteenth century.

Narrating Public Opinion: *Arbitristas* and *Procuradores*

At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, *arbitrismo* emerged as an effort to create policy recommendations addressed to the monarch and his councilors. These *arbitristas* sought to identify the ailments of Spanish society and suggest measures that would help restore Spanish power and glory or at least conserve it. In the busiest period from 1598 to 1665, about 165 tracts were written by *arbitristas*.[48] A large number were written in response to a call for proposals issued by the Council of Castile at the request of Philip III in 1618. Although most *arbitristas* were largely ignored by the monarchy and its advisory councils and derided by some as dreamers or meddlers, their observations provide a glimpse at the way a group of middling bureaucrats and *letrados* reflected on their society and its issues. Generally,

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[46] Gracián y Morales, *El criticón*, 344. "Pues si España no hubiera tenido los desaguaderos de Flandes, las sangrías de Italia, los sumideros de Francia, las sanguisuelas de Génova, ¿no estuvieran todas sus ciudades enladrilladas de oro y muradas de plata?"

[47] Ibid., 341.

[48] For an overview of *arbitrismo*, see Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain*.

the *arbitristas* were nostalgic –usually for the period of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Fernando – and often proposed economically-based solutions aimed at addressing problems rooted in demographic decline and financial instability, with a focus on *restauración*, or restoration. Some of the most common proposals were various forms of tax reform, the establishment of a favorable trade balance, and a fierce protectionism with respect to precious metals and agricultural goods.[49] Depopulation and its effects were also central concerns of these treatises. It is not surprising that foreign merchants were often cited as the principal malefactors: bleeding Spain of its hard-earned resources as though it were their own Indies, inciting an immoral profiteering among local merchants intent on staying competitive, and laziness among artisans no longer willing to compete with foreign merchandise.

Sancho de Moncada's *Restauración politica de España y deseos publicos* (1619) was one of the most emblematic of this thread among the *arbitristas*. Moncada was a graduate and professor at the University of Toledo, where he held the prima chair in theology and the chair in biblical studies. His treatise was written in response to the call from the Council of Castile in 1618 and published the following year.[50] For Moncada, the foreign merchants at issue were "Turks, Moors, Hungarians, Venetians, English, Genoese, and other nations."[51] These merchants' role in fostering an uneven trade balance was the central issue for Moncada, although he also recommended that the monarchy should continue barring these foreigners from holding ecclesiastical rents and participating in American trade, "in which they treat us [Spaniards] like

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[49] Ibid., 39–44.

[50] For more biographical notes on Moncada and a discussion of his economic thought, see Fernández Delgado, "La ruptura del pensamiento económico castellano en el siglo XVII."

[51] Moncada, *Restauración política de España*, 31. "Turcos, Moros, Ungaros, Venecianos, Ingleses, Genoveses, y otras Naciones, que recibe España, y les vendría el mismo útil en labrar los que tiene España en labrar los suyos."

Indians."[52] In Moncada's view, "everything or nearly everything comes from elsewhere," which was detrimental to Spanish production of finished goods and the source of the pejorative representation held by foreigners of the Spanish as lazy.[53] He was likewise concerned about the moral and economic implications of the Spanish interest in foreign clothing: "that each person spends on clothing, and galas, and household goods … and there is no one in Spain that does not have something foreign: a collar, shirt, dress, tapestry, books, paper, some clothing…"[54] For Moncada, these foreign merchants represented a group that only sought to enrich themselves at the expense of native Spaniards and at the same time undermined the morality of the kingdom.

In addition to the economic and moral effects of an unfavorable trade balance, Moncada was also concerned about the effect that the methods utilized by these merchants had on the economic well-being of native Spaniards. For example, Moncada argued that there were some things in which these foreign merchants were the only ones in the business, or nearly so, from haberdashery and luxury items like ebony, to the staples of fish and wheat. As a result, they were able to set prices on these goods and charge excessively, not only because of their control of the market, but also through the selling and reselling of these things.[55] Moncada concedes that there were some voices in defense of these merchants which he often dismissed as laughable arguments from the common people, or "*el vulgo*."[56] Moncada's view of merchants as self-interested, unscrupulous, and irreconcilable with the community of the Spanish kingdoms is not

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[52] Ibid., 22, 11. "nos tratan como a Indios."

[53] Ibid., 24, 18. "o todo, o casi todo viene de fuera."

[54] Ibid., 24. "que cada uno gaste de trages, y galas, y ménage de casa … [y] no ay nadie en Espana que dexe de traer algo estrangero, cuello, camisa, vestido, tapiz, libros, papel, alguna cosa de mercería."

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 32.

far from the pejorative representation found in much of the literary narratives, poetry, and drama of the Golden Age.

In his *Conservación de monarquías* (1626) –a response to the call from the Council of Castile, like Moncada's *Restauración politca* –Pedro Fernández Navarrete likewise addressed the activities of foreign merchants in the Spanish kingdoms. Fernández Navarrete was a graduate in canon law from the University of Salamanca, a translator of Seneca, and a royal chaplain and secretary.[57] He is likely the most connected of the *arbitristas* discussed in this chapter, considering his activity at court and his past experience serving as secretary to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna in Rome during the 1580s, before returning to Spain with a papal bull granting him a canonry at Santiago de Compostela in 1592. In a lengthy argument against the involvement of most foreigners in the economic, religious, and social life of the Spanish kingdoms, Fernández Navarrete made continual references to Castilian law and the works of classical antiquity to support his view of the detrimental effect of foreigners. This was the case not only for the security of the kingdom and the prosperity of natives, but it also provoked moral corruption: "that the merchants of other provinces should not enter the interior [of the country], because in addition to introducing unnecessary merchandise which serves only to feminize men, they will discover and know the intimate secrets of the Kingdom."[58] For this reason, and because of the harm their commerce caused the natives of the kingdom, he suggested that they should be excluded from participating in royal finances and holding any ecclesiastical or public offices.

[57] Goñi Gaztambide, "El licenciado Pedro Fernández Navarrete."

[58] Fernández Navarrete, *Conservación de Monarquías*, fol. 98. "que los mercaderes de otras Provincias no entrasen la tierra adentro porque junto con introducir mercancías no necesarias, que sirven solo de afeminar los hombres, escudriñan y saben los íntimos secretos del Reyno."

Fernández Navarrete grants that while some might be good people, "very Catholic, very religious, very devout, and very charitable, their commerce has well-recognized harm, experienced as a result of our sins."[59] He also concedes that to welcome foreign immigrants would help to address the Spanish kingdoms' protracted depopulation, with the stipulation that they are

> only those who arrive uprooted [from their homelands] for their whole life, and bring their children and wife with them, and purchase real estate, which would serve as a sure guarantee of their fidelity… those who come to Spain thus, without considering returning with all their wealth to their homeland (*patria*) would not be burdensome, rather it would be useful to admit them since they are well accommodated to our methods of business and inclined to all manner of virtue.[60]

This position is at least more willing to move beyond the pejorative representation of these merchants, yet their ability to be incorporated was, for Fernández Navarrete – and at the heart of Castilian law on this matter – contingent on their severing of ties with their country of origin.[61] Moreover, Fernández Navarrete only devotes one chapter out of fifty to the issue of foreign merchants among others ranging from the role of royal councils and the excessive size of the ecclesiastical estate, whereas about one-third of Moncada's work was devoted to these merchants as a central issue. Although Fernández Navarrete saw foreign merchants as less significant contributors to decline than Moncada, he utilized the same arguments interlinked with the caricature of these merchants present in the works examined above to propose limiting their incorporation into and role in the Spanish kingdoms.

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[59] Ibid. "aunque son muy católicos, muy religiosos, muy devotos, y muy caritativos, tiene su comercio daños conocidos y experimentados por nuestros pecados."

[60] Ibid. "solos aquellos que venían desterrados por toda su vida, y traían consigo hijos y mujer, y conpravan hazienda raíz, que fuesen prendas seguras de su fidelidad … [quienes] viniesen a España en esta forma, sin llevar la mira a volver con toda la riqueza a su patria no sería de inconveniente, antes de utilidad el admitirlos por ser gente muy acomodada a nuestro modo de trato, y muy dados a todo genera de virtud."

[61] See Herzog, *Defining Nations,* 2003.

A few decades after Moncada and Fernández Navarrete, *arbitristas* continued to use the same stereotypes as fodder for their arguments labeling these merchants as one of the contributors to the ailments afflicting the Spanish kingdoms. The Franciscan friar Francisco Martínez de Mata, for example, was highly active in the 1650s with a fiercely anti-Genoese stance. He even attempted to "irritate the natives against the Genoese and incite a riot among the people [of Seville]" with an image of a woman representing Spain, bleeding from her heel, and a figure representing the Republic of Genoa catching the blood.[62] His writings survive primarily in fragments published later in the eighteenth century. In one such fragment, Martínez de Mata presented a caricature of the Genoese similar to the image found in the works of Quevedo, Alemán, and others: "In addition to being ungrateful, the faith of this nation follows only their self-interest, and those who depend on them are not suitable as friends, companions, or vassals, since if they see greater benefit to helping our enemies, they will do it."[63] He even provides his estimation of the origin of the Genoese's derogatory identification as *moros blancos*, a term also found in Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache*. Martínez de Mata claimed that the Genoese had provided transportation for the Turkish army to the Battle of Varna in 1444, leading to the fall of Constantinople nearly a decade later, as well as the death of the king of Poland, a cardinal-nephew of the pope, and thirty thousand Christians. For Martínez de Mata, the Genoese were untrustworthy because of their greed and only desired the extraction of wealth from the Spanish kingdoms.

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[62] ASG, Archivio Segreto, Lettere di Consuli di Spagna 2764. Letter from the Genoese consul in Seville, Nicolao Prato. Cited in Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos."

[63] Martínez de Mata, "Discurso sobre el comercio activo nacional"; cited in Girón Pascual, "Ricos, Nobles y Poderosos," 45.

Moncada, Fernández Navarrete, and Martínez de Mata's arguments about the principal ills of the Spanish economy were not particularly new or a product of the seventeenth century, though that is when they reached their height of diffusion. Rather, they had already been fermenting from at least the middle of the sixteenth century, for example among the representatives (*procuradores*) to the Castilian parliaments (*Cortes*) – many of whom were also local *jurados*, *veintequatros*, and other such officials in their constituencies.[64] The *procuradores* at the 1563 *Cortes* convened in Madrid made a number of references to the exportation of gold and silver, which they argued was "incredibly injurious."[65] Although at times oblique about the particular identity of these foreign merchants, the *procuradores* did name Genoese merchants explicitly as the main perpetrators of price-fixing, as well as the illegal exportation of merchandise and currency.[66] In addition to this continual refrain, the *procuradores* also called attention to the immoral price-gouging on a number of commodities, the most unbearable of which was committed on foodstuffs.

They described how these merchants were able to purchase and hide away large quantities of merchandise to increase scarcity, since they were wealthy men, and then sold them at whatever price they wanted. An even more injurious result was the concomitant implication of local merchants in this immoral activity, "rising to such excessive prices, from which they never lower."[67] The *procuradores* hoped that they could convince the monarch to forbid these

[64] These petitions were also subsequent fuel for the treatises of *arbitristas*. A petition made at the 1579 Cortes was copied in Martínez de Mata's *Discurso*, for example. See Martínez de Mata, "Discurso sobre el comercio activo nacional," 19–39.

[65] Danvila y Collado, *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, 1861, 5.1:346. "cosa de tanto perjuzio."

[66] Danvila y Collado, *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, 1862, 5.2:456.

[67] Danvila y Collado, *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, 1861, 5.1:346. "las suben y crescen en muy excesivos precios, de los quales jamas baxan.".

merchants from trading in the Spanish kingdoms "neither on their own account, nor by intermediaries in any form," at least in foodstuffs, which were a public necessity.[68] Lastly, these *procuradores* prefigure the calls made by *arbitristas* like Moncada in their claims that the Spanish kingdoms were particularly victimized by these activities.[69] However, the *procuradores* did not stop there and also called attention to what they saw as foreign merchants' predatory participation in the wool trade – the great enterprise of the Spanish kingdoms.

The *procuradores* demanded that foreign merchants continue to be charged double the tax that native merchants had to pay on the exportation of wool, since the tax had recently been raised on native merchants but not in proportion on foreign merchants. They also took the opportunity to voice their contention that native merchants should be the privileged group and thus receive a tax break when it came to the exportation of valuable Spanish merchandise.[70] A few years later at the Cortes convened in Madrid in 1567, the *procuradores* also complained about price-fixing: buying wool early in the season at low prices in order to resell to *obradores de paños*, or cloth-workers, at excessively high profits. The *procuradores* identified merchants native to the Castilian city of Burgos and the Genoese as the main perpetrators.[71] Their complaints, however, were largely unsuccessful as Philip II responded that the Council of Castile should continue to look at particular cases of malfeasance among foreign merchants, rather than consider a wholesale ban on their activities.

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[68] Ibid. "mandar que los dichos estrangeros no puedan tractar ni contractar por sí, ni por interpósitas personas en alguna manera en cosas de bastimentos.".

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 5.1:373.

[71] Danvila y Collado, *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, 1862, 5.2:456.

Clearly the image of foreign merchants, Italians, and the Genoese foremost among them, found in literary works produced at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries was closely linked to pejorative representations already at work in the public opinion of the mid-sixteenth century. These representations could serve as considerable impediments to the merchants' integration and potential naturalization, predicated on the consent of their local communities which was rooted in trust. Nevertheless, the stereotypes could also be turned on their heads to serve Genoese merchants and others, as exemplified in the work of an anonymous *arbitrista* who wrote in favor of foreign merchants.

Combating Representations in the *Representación*

Many of the *arbitristas* looked unfavorably on foreign merchants in their nostalgic and protectionist proposals. Yet, there was considerable variety in their beliefs and arguments. Some looked to God for assistance and to public morality and correct belief as essential to the well-being of the kingdom, whereas others focused more on practical economic solutions enacted through royal policy.[72] Moreover, while many maintained that the way forward lay in a return to the past, there were also *arbitristas* who argued that new solutions were needed.

This could include an embrace of merchants as important members of society on par with, or in close proximity to, the nobility and upholding as preeminent the examples set by the Flemish and certain Italian states, such as Venice.[73] One example of these apologists for merchants was Bartolome Frías de Albornoz, a University of Salamanca-trained jurist turned Mexican *encomendero* as a result of his marriage to a daughter of a conquistador. In his 1573

[72] Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain*, 31–34. For a recent study on the dramatic increase in religious art as a result of these anxieties, including among Genoese merchant families, in Seville, see Wunder, *Baroque Seville*.

[73] Cavillac, "El discurso del 'mercader' y sus incidencias literarias," 47.

manual on contract law (later placed on the Index of prohibited books in the eighteenth century), he wrote admiringly of the example of Venice, where "the office of a *Gentilhombre,* which is what they call their *caballeros* and noble people, from birth to death is that of merchant, and from these they select their Duke and Council."[74] The *arbitrista* Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos, recommended that nobles, hidalgos, and commoners (*plebeyos*) be merchants, following the example of Venice.[75] Likewise, the Augustinian friar and chronicler Jeronimo Roman y Zamora argued in his *Republicas del Mundo* (1595) that Venetian nobility was rooted in two "most noble" activities which "preserve their [the Venetians'] authority and reputation: one is that of a merchant and the other the pursuit of letters."[76] His work had first been published in 1575, but was placed on the Index until he was able to correct passages on the colonization of the Americas based on the work of Las Casas; it was then republished in 1595.

It is also worth noting that Giovanni Botero in his popular *Relaciónes Universales* (*Relazioni Universali*), translated into Castilian not long after its original publication in the final years of the sixteenth century, also pointed to the examples of Venice and Florence for the esteem with which merchants were held there. He noted that while Genoa had also been exemplary in the past, by the end of the sixteenth century "its citizens had turned to money changing and other methods of profit that served only particular interests rather than those of their Republic."[77] There were thus some writing in favor of emulating what were perceived to be successful competitors, from the Flemish in the early part of the sixteenth century to the Italians

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[74] Frías de Albornoz, *Arte de los Contratos*, fol. 128.

[75] Gutiérrez de los Ríos, *Noticia general para la estimacion de las artes*, fol. 337.

[76] Román y Zamora, *Republicas del Mundo*, vol. II, fol. 279.

[77] Botero, *Relaciones universales del mundo*, fol. 28. For more on the translation of Botero, see Gil, "The Forces of the King: The Generation that Read Botero in Spain."

(principally the Venetians) at the end of the century. Yet, these proposals were not universally accepted and their proponents were ultimately unsuccessful.[78] That some *arbitristas* should also look to those which the *procuradores* to the Cortes and many other *arbitristas* saw as the foreign groups most detrimental to the Iberian kingdoms also highlights the variety of currents coursing through the period.

One anonymous *arbitrista*, or perhaps even a merchant, and likely a resident of Seville went even further. They argued that foreign merchants were key to addressing the common ills dissected by *arbitrismo*: demographic and economic decline. Although it has no original title, this work has been referred to by two descriptive titles: *Representación de un vecino de Sevilla a fines del siglo XVI a favor de los comerciantes extranjeros que hay en la dicha ciudad*, and *Discurso anónimo en defensa de los extranjeros y su comercio*.[79] This short but wide-ranging defense – hereafter called the *Representación* – outlines some of the ways merchants could push back against the anti-foreigner discourse, turn this public opinion on its head, and refashion negative caricatures as evidence of nobility (*hidalguía*), loyalty, and integration.

The larger manuscript in which the *Representación* was bound (MSS 6754) was procured by Juan de Ferraras in the early eighteenth century and later sold along with 143 other manuscripts to the Biblioteca Real in 1721, of which Ferraras was the head librarian.[80] Ferraras

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[78] Cavillac, "El discurso del 'mercader' y sus incidencias literarias," 48.

[79] The first title is given in *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*. The second is given in Domínguez Ortiz, *Los extranjeros en la vida española durante el siglo XVII y otros artículos*, 175–78 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz published selections from the *Representación* in an appendix and gives a more accurate pagination than the *Inventario general*. He does not defend his estimated date, which he proposed to be within the first third of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, a comparison of the script used with other explicitly dated sections of the manuscript, as well as the likelihood that the *Representación* was written in the tumultuous period of Genoese and Castilian relations in the mid-1570s, suggests that the date offered by the *Inventario general* – the end of the sixteenth century – is more accurate.

[80] *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, XI:259.

may have acquired the manuscript in his purchase of the library of the bibliophile and historian Juan Lucas Cortés after his death in 1701. Cortés was born in Seville to a naturalized family of Flemish immigrants, studied law at Salamanca, and held several government positions dealing with finance, including becoming *fiscal* of the *audiencia* of the House of Trade, or *Casa de la Contratación*. At the time of his death he was also preparing a comprehensive history of Castilian law, which remained unfinished.[81] His offices dealing with royal finance, immigrant background, and interests in Castilian law and political thought are clearly represented in the varied contents of the manuscript in which the *Representación* was bound, gathered perhaps as material for his legal history.

The manuscript binds together a collection of writings that include a summary of the Cortes celebrated in Toledo in 1538 and 1539, a 1627 manuscript written by Mateo Lison y Biedma, a missive to the king from the Archbishop of Toledo (Moscoso y Sandoval) about the governing of the archbishopric, information about royal rents from all over Castile, a copy of a 1596 royal decree about "men of affairs and merchants," and many other writings concerning royal finance and policy.[82] Immediately preceding and following the *Representación* are more undated and anonymous writings in various hands that, like that written by Lison y Biedma and the *Representación,* claim to identify the ailments of the realm and propose solutions. The catalog of the Biblioteca Nacional de España groups a number of different writings together with the *Representación* (ff. 220-261). The diverse styles of scripts and formatting strongly suggest that this chunk of the manuscript can be broken up into eight separate works dealing with

[81] González de San Segundo, "Juan Lucas Cortés (1624-1701)." This post was first held by the Genoese merchant Francisco Pinelo.

[82] Mateo de Lison y Biedma, another *arbitrista*, was a government official from Granada who wrote a number of treatises within the genre of *arbitrismo*. This work, along with a number of others by Lison y Biedma, are discussed by Villar, "Formes et de l'opposition sous Olivares: Lison et Biedma, Defonsor de la Patria."

monetary reform and agricultural productivity, with only the second (ff. 224-228) being the *Representación*. Although there are clearly shared thematic interests, this suggests they may have been intended to form part of a dossier of arguments to support a particular economic policy recommendation, which likely represents the interest of the compiler, rather than a single author of the various components.

The *Representación*, following the conventions of *arbitrismo*, begins with a discussion of the effects of plague and emigration on agricultural production, the declining population of cities and villages, and thus the decline of royal finances. The subsequent portion, the main thrust of the argument, then turns to the particular case of Seville, arguing that despite economic and demographic decline throughout Castile, it continued to thrive. The author attributes this success, in a divergence from the majority position of the *arbitristas*, to the foreign merchants living in the city, launching into a defense of this community and weighing in on contemporary debates about social integration and the naturalization of foreigners, particularly merchants.[83] Naturalization centered on questions of loyalty and social integration as evidenced by an individual's conduct, as well as the stereotypical conduct of an individual's ethnic or social group.[84] The author's attempt to counter the negative public opinion surrounding foreign merchants utilized a variety of arguments, ranging again from economic to demographic. These arguments provide further evidence that the loyalty of foreign merchants was questioned in terms of the utility of their economic contributions and their morality as a group, much along the same lines as Italians and the Genoese were caricatured in literature and petitions to the Cortes.

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[83] The author of the *Representación* did not distinguish who he meant by foreigners (*extranjeros*) or whether there were differences between various ethnic or national groups –with the sole exception of the English nation, which he considered the least integrated. BNE, MSS 6754, f. 226v.

[84] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, 120–33.

The most common theme addressed by the *Representación* is the questioning of the foreign community's allegiance and desire for the well-being of the Spanish kingdoms.[85] The author countered these suspicions using a variety of arguments, including re-framing their wealth to emphasize these merchants' economic support of the Spanish kingdoms, highlighting a religious affinity that bound them to the Spanish cause of Catholicism, and pointing to their social integration through marriage and multi-generational residence in Spanish territories. These arguments thus tackle the main traits posed by the caricatures of Italian merchants in Spanish literature, the work of a greater number of *arbitristas*, and the petitions in the Cortes, including: their proverbial wealth, inhospitable frugality, and moral degeneracy expressed primarily through deception and greed. Collectively these traits made Italian merchants incompatible for full inclusion within Castilian communities and undeserving of any privileges above native Castilians.

The arguments in the *Representación* combated suspicions about the wealth acquired by foreign merchants in the Spanish kingdoms by framing it as service to the monarchy and thus the kingdom as a whole. In doing so, the author also attempted to soften the caricature of immense wealth. According to the *Representación*, the foreign merchants' allegiance to the Spanish kingdoms was proven by their contribution to the royal treasury through various avenues. One of their direct contributions to the Spanish monarchy was their payment of customs duties (*almojarifazgo*), paying "nearly all" of it with their contribution of "four hundred million in fees, many [merchant houses] paying two million and above."[86] Moreover, the author considered the

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[85] BNE, MSS 6754, f. 226r.

[86] Ibid., f. 225v. "casse todo lo que se paga y valen los almojarifazgos lo pagan ellos y assi ay muchos que en cada vn año . . . paga quarto y ciento quentos de derechos y muchos de dos quentos arriua" The amount is probably in *maravedís*, a *cuento* being shorthand for one million often used in reference to *maravedís*.

contribution of one merchant house of more than 300,000 ducats in customs duties and sales taxes (*alcabalas*) over ten years to be an "admirable thing," particularly since it was not the only one. These contributions, in theory, solidified their allegiance to the Spanish kingdoms in that they became financial supporters of the monarchy.

In addition to their direct contribution to royal rents, foreign merchants also contributed through their promotion of American trade as investors and suppliers. The author of the *Representación* argued that foreign merchants provided a valuable source of merchandise "from diverse provinces, all necessary for the provision of these kingdoms and the Indies fleet."[87] Moreover, even though he conceded that it would be beneficial for Spanish natives to have complete control over American trade, he argued that it was as yet impossible without the financial help of foreign merchants, resulting in a great loss of revenue for the king: "the natives do not have enough capital or credit to equip a single ship if foreigners did not vouch and accommodate them, and so the fleets would sit unable to embark, and the Indies trade of such importance would come to an end."[88] Financing and outfitting American trade further proved the merchants' loyalties to the kingdom because they provided a way for the native population to profit without risking their estate as foreign merchants did. For the author of the *Representación*, the main benefits of American trade were the silver and gold that came every year and the hefty tax revenue derived from American commodities like cochineal and tobacco.[89] These arguments about foreign merchants' economic activities were fundamentally concerned with the taxes that benefited the monarchy and solidified the merchants' allegiance to the kingdom.

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[87] Ibid., f. 226r.

[88] Ibid., f. 226v.

[89] Ibid., f. 227v.

The author also argued that foreign merchants proved their loyalty by sustaining the city of Seville itself with their economic activities and thus supporting the prosperity of the monarchy's largest source of tax revenue.[90] By residing in Seville, they brought wealth, jobs, and stability, and even maintained their houses and buildings better than some native Castilians, whose dwellings fell into disrepair due to lack of funds. They also owned extensive amounts of property, including "large country estates and many houses and buildings" to which they were adding to daily with constant new construction.[91] This investment in real estate further solidified their relationship to the Spanish kingdoms, since a good portion of their assets were tied up in physical property within Spanish territories. In addition to these arguments, the author also noted that the majority of these foreign merchants' estates were made up of "credit and that everything is intangible wealth," because they used their cash only to pay royal rents –taking the bite out of the argument that foreign merchants exported gold, silver, and other currency out of Spain.[92] The author further argued that few foreign merchants left the Spanish kingdoms rich and many became bankrupt because of the turbulent nature of American trade. In this way, the *Representación* reframed the wealth and economic activities of foreign merchants as central to the functioning and prosperity of the Spanish kingdoms and to royal finance in particular, and as proof of their allegiance and integration. In reframing their wealth as a service to the monarchy and emphasizing the precariousness of their economic situation, the author countered the negative public opinion that caricatured them as wealthy and powerful, but because of their suspect loyalty, essentially beneficial to polities outside the Spanish kingdoms.

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[90] Ibid., f. 225v.

[91] Ibid., f. 227r. "tienen grandes haziendas de canpos y muchas cassas y edificios y cada dia los hazen."

[92] Ibid., f. 226r. "cassi lo mas es en confiança y que todo es hazienda en l'ayre."

The author of the *Representación* also argued that foreign merchants were socially integrated into the community of the Spanish kingdoms, tackling the other main aspect of the caricature: that these merchants supposed immorality and different values made them incompatible with, or at least unwelcome in, Castilian society. The *Representación* argued that integration was indeed possible along the lines of the requirements in Castilian law, that is that extended periods of residence in Spanish territories were a primary indicator of allegiance – the central requirement of naturalization for which all other requirements functioned as legal proofs. The author of the *Representación* even points out that some of these so-called foreign merchants had been born in Seville, since some families had lived there for generations.[93] Birth and residence were important in establishing membership in local communities, and through these smaller communities, the larger community of the Spanish kingdoms.[94] In addition to residence and birth, the author argued that marriage to native Castilians also contributed to these merchants' naturalization. He noted that "many are [married] to daughters of natives and natives with their daughters, so that they have extended deep roots."[95] The author of the *Representación* marshaled these arguments to create an image of foreign merchants as integrated members of a Spanish community whose roots encouraged their "love and desire for the well-being of these [Spanish] kingdoms."[96] Intermarriage and residence, particularly over generations, could thus be used to foster trust in foreign merchants' loyalty to the Spanish kingdoms, because through these avenues of social integration, their fortunes became tied to that of the Spanish kingdoms.

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[93] Ibid., f. 226r.

[94] For the role of citizenship and integration in local communities as a determining factor in proving membership in a broader Spanish community, see Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003.

[95] BNE, MSS 6754, f. 226v. "otros por que se van cassando y ay muchos que lo estan con hijas de naturales y los naturales con sus hijas con que tienen muy grandes rrayzes echadas."

[96] Ibid. "tienen muy grandes rrayzes echadas para amar y desear el bien destos reynos."

The author of the *Representación* also called attention to the merchants' religious credentials, pushing back against the caricature of the immoral merchant in order to solidify their image as loyal members of the Spanish community. The author claimed that the majority of foreign merchants were "prominent [people] and very Catholic" who sought the "well-being of their souls" by coming to the Spanish kingdoms.[97] Thus, they argued that foreign merchants flocked to Spain in order to live in a predominantly Catholic kingdom headed by "a most Christian and saintly king."[98] Religious orthodoxy was an important part of Spanish identity and claiming a Catholic character for foreign merchants helped to create a counter-image for them as allies, tapping into larger fears and suspicions about heretics and religious minorities.[99] The author of the *Representación* attempted to counter the caricature of the immoral Genoese merchant, greedy and cruel, and of other foreign merchants as religiously suspect. Instead, the religious affiliation of these merchants was a selling point since they could be construed as Catholic allies. Although religion might seem to have been the most important criterion for establishing membership in the Spanish community, the religious credentials received very little treatment in the *Representación* in comparison with their economic activities. This likely reflects the greater concern placed on their other activities, which only tangentially involved questions about their Catholicity; a pattern consistent with what Tamar Herzog has found in her study of naturalization suits.[100] These activities, particularly contributions to royal revenues, received

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[97] Ibid. "como es gente la mas de la estrangera principal y muy catolica" & "donde tanuien les esta para el bien de sus almas."

[98] Ibid. "que en estos rynos por la Misericordia de dios estan abraçados por la fee de Jesu Xpto nuestro señor, la obediençia a Pontifice, la christiandad con que se biue … que en ellos gozan del gouierno de vn rey christianissimo y santo."

[99] Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish"; Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*, esp. Introduction.

[100] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 2003, esp. Chapters 4 and 5.

much more attention in rehabilitating the image of foreign merchants as integral contributors to the prosperity of the Spanish kingdoms.

In this way, the *Representación* gives insight into the three areas that most concerned native Spaniards regarding foreign merchants: their economic activities and wealth, their religion or morality, and their social integration or loyalty – to which the previous two contributed. Not only did their investments and trading activities enrich them, but they also brought significant wealth to the monarchy through taxes and customs duties. Their wealth and connections also benefited the native population through their financing of native-operated American trade. Dismantling the image of super-wealthy and powerful foreigners who extracted the wealth of Spain and Spanish America to benefit their home-country, the author reconstructed an image of precariously wealthy foreigners, inextricably tied to the well-being of the Spanish kingdoms.

Conclusion

The representations discussed in this chapter, so clearly exemplified in the literature and theatre of the Golden Age, the works of *arbitristas*, and the petitions of the *procuradores* to the Cortes, was also implicated in the discourse in which the Spanish sought to define natives in opposition to deceitful foreigners. Many merchants were denied formal recognition of *naturaleza* because merchants were perceived as temporary residents who only lived in Spain as long as they had business there and did not desire to become permanent members of the Spanish community of natives. Indeed, the regular criteria for integration (marriage, residence, and owning property) were more often questioned in the cases of merchants whose "true intentions" were believed to be difficult to verify.[101] This could be a considerable obstacle for Genoese merchants, who had a reputation for dissimulation, untrustworthiness, and self-oriented motives.

[101] Ibid., 99.

Additionally, economic competition among merchants themselves, both native and foreign, influenced the development of this discourse and understandings of social integration. Throughout the sixteenth century, mercantile agencies such as the merchant guild of Seville and the House of Trade, or *Casa de Contratación* pursued stricter vetting of foreign merchants' integration and eligibility for trade with the Americas in order to restrict access to competitors.[102] The implications of such impressions were clearly visible in the cases discussed in Part II and continued to affect the shape that ambiguous integration took in Seville, Cadiz, and the Iberian Atlantic well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[102] Ibid., 96–98.

Epilogue:

Eschewing the Consulate, Embracing Dissimulation, Remaining Ambiguous

The ambiguous integration of Genoese merchants was key to their economic success in Seville, as it was elsewhere across the Mediterranean. In the late fourteenth century their integration took on a liminal form, which combined activities that inserted these merchants into Castilian society with a firm retention of Genoese identity, reinforcing the networks that connected them with Genoa and their compatriots in their adoptive home. The consulate in Seville and the activities that hovered around it were of central importance to the endurance of such liminality in several ways. The consulate provided a physical focal point for the community through such buildings as the *lonja* and the various national chapels, while also providing an impetus to the invocation of Genoese identity through the privileged position its consuls worked to guard throughout Castile. Through the socio-religious activities it promoted and organized the community's participation in, such as confraternities and processions, it also preserved the memory of these merchants' belonging in a larger Genoese community – a mercantile diaspora – which was at the same time firmly established in the fabric and topography of the city of Seville.

The centrality of the consulate for extending the memory of Genoese identity among these merchant families eroded as the sixteenth century came to a close, along with the apogee of the Hispano-Genoese relationship.[1] In his work on the nobility of Andalucía published in 1588, Gonzalo Argote de Molina observed that the consulate that had in previous times enjoyed "considerable jurisdiction with great privileges from the Kings [now] only conserve[s] its name."[2] The decline of the consulate was further exacerbated as the seventeenth century

[1] Herrero Sánchez, "La Quiebra del Sistema Hispano-Genovés (1627-1700)."

[2] Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, fols. 244–246.

progressed, when the difficulties it faced in protecting Genoese merchants stood uncomfortably alongside the considerable gains made by the Flemish and the French consulates as a result of wars and treaties.[3] Public opinion of the Genoese also increasingly soured at the end of the century, questioning the compatibility of these merchants, their economic activities, and as a result their purportedly questionable morals, with Spanish social and cultural ideals. In a climate of increasing anxiety around multiple allegiances or layered identities, even to the point of expulsions with regard to such groups as the Jews (to protect the purported fragility of *conversos*) and *moriscos* – to whom the Genoese were at times compared – the more liminal form of ambiguous integration made it difficult to operate in Castile and participate in American trade.

As a result, from the end of the sixteenth century onward, in situations where the ancestors of some of these families or others similar to them would have made greater reference to or even capitalized on their Genoese past, many opted instead for increased dissimulation of foreignness. As a Genoese worker in the early eighteenth century observed, he had come to Castile "to earn a living but, as it was impossible to do so without the formality of the allegiance, he agreed to be Spanish (*tiene acordado ser español*)."[4] This is not to say that ambiguous integration disappeared, that is that such merchants did in fact cut ties with Genoa and assimilate completely into Castilian society. Rather, they were less forceful in the presentation of their identity one way or the other as much as was possible. As Catia Brilli has observed in her groundbreaking work on the Genoese community of Cadiz after the *Casa de la Contratación* had been moved there from Seville, this situation

[3] Collado Villalta, "La Nación Genovesa en la Sevilla de la Carrera de Indias: declive mercantil y perdida de la autonomía consular"; Díaz Blanco and Fernández Chaves, "Una élite en la sombra."

[4] Quoted in Brilli, *Genoese Trade and Migration in the Spanish Atlantic, 1700–1830*, 54.

> led the Genoese to disregard the maintenance of solid community ties and their own nation's institutional resources in favor of private strategies of integration into the host society to access the privileges reserved to the locals. The result was a highly conflictive and scarcely cohesive nation made of individuals and groups whose economic success depended on their capacity to transform their political marginality into a source of profit.[5]

Nevertheless, Billi's work also makes clear that these naturalized merchants did not usually completely sever ties with the Genoese community represented by the consul and it was possible for those same merchants to continue to have a prestigious position when the community needed to communicate with the government of Genoa. Although they declined to sign the correspondence, their names were mentioned in an effort to convince officials in Genoa to side with the members of the Genoese community in their conflict with "an exceedingly 'controlling' consul."[6] Utilizing the framework of ambiguous integration advocated in this dissertation, the activities of these merchants are more easily explained as part of an abiding position straddling two communities. What changed over the centuries was not so much the relationship of this mercantile diaspora with its home city and the other expatriates living in their adopted city, so much as the extent to which their ambiguity was displayed or dissimulated.

Genoese merchants did not abandon the Iberian world with the fracture of the Hispano-Genoese system in the seventeenth century and the subsequent elimination of Genoa as a major international political player. Rather, these communities could be found across the Iberian possessions, including a substantial one in El Rio de la Plata, continuing to profit from trade with the Americas. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these communities remained skeptical of consulates and the kinds of activities that provided the foundation for expressing a liminal form of ambiguous integration. It was their turn toward dissimulation that allowed them

[5] Ibid., 56.

[6] Ibid., 86.

to stay competitive with other groups of merchants backed by stronger states and possessing privileges granted through treaties: "to survive in a hostile international context [necessitated] the 'betrayal' of their nation's interests."[7]

Moreover, while it is clear through Brilli's work that the in the eighteenth century "the Genoese nation's borders were wider and more ambiguous than the lists of people registered with the consulate would suggest," the cases presented in this dissertation show that this was also the case for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[8] The consulate of Seville cannot be taken in itself to represent the community of Genoese living in the city; however, its relative health is nevertheless reflective and a strong indicator of the outward form that merchants' ambiguous integration was likely to take in a given period and place. The strength of the consulate could center the community and underwrite a liminal display of Genoese identity that was at the same time firmly enmeshed in its adoptive home. The decline of the consulate clearly accompanied a shift of the community toward more individual and private strategies of integration that dissimulated foreignness in the face of a host community increasingly anxious of ambiguity.

In its exploration of the activities that undergirded the more liminal form of ambiguous integration, this dissertation has focused primarily on religious and civic social activities such as confraternity membership, participation in processions, certain forms of charity, and preferences for burial. These are not the only activities that could have contributed to the reinforcement of communal memory and the liminal form of ambiguous integration. For example, the pursuit of education at Spanish universities and a subsequent embeddedness within the wide-ranging *letrado* networks could also have played an important role in fostering such an approach to

[7] Ibid., 88. This "betrayal" is in reference to contributions in taxes to the city of Genoa or the officials of the consulate.

[8] Ibid., 85.

ambiguous integration.[9] Moreover, the case studies discussed here are only a representative sampling, which will continue to be expanded as scholarship progresses in the prosopographical study of these communities. This dissertation argues that operating with the framework of ambiguous integration in mind will guide future work to be more inclusive in their exposition of these merchants and their families' varied experiences as they moved from Liguria to the Iberian Peninsula, the Americas, and beyond.

The Italian presence in Iberia and their contributions to Atlantic expansion have been recognized and continuously investigated since the beginning of the twentieth century. Scholarly discussion needs to move beyond these merchants' economic activities alone or their purported betrayal of the bourgeoisie, as well as the long life of the public opinion that painted them as colonizers, foreign leeches of wealth and power, and fundamental contributors to Spanish decline.[10] Illuminating the ambiguous integration that underwrote their early success and the way it changed over the course of the sixteenth century is one way to recapture the fullness of these merchants' experience and their interactions with the Castilian communities in which they spent the majority of their lives.

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[9] See for example Braun, "Higher Education, 'Soft Power,' and Catholic Identity: A Case Study from Early Modern Salamanca."

[10] For an example of the way this has continued to influence historiography, see Miralles Martínez and Molina Puche, "Socios pero no parientes. Los límites de la promoción social de los comerciantes extranjeros en la Castilla moderna". For a critique of this approach to merchants, see Subrahmanyam, *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World, 1450–1800*.

Appendix 1:
Select Wills Registered by Italian Merchants in Seville

Date of Will	Name of Testator	*Naturaleza*	Juridical Status	First Burial Option	Second Burial Option	Source
1500	Guillermo Baso	Genoese	*Vecino*	63. Monastery of San Jerónimo de Buenavista		AHPS, Protocolos, 2157 ff. 334v-335r.
1501	Marco Cataño	Genoese	*Estante*	1. Cathedral (Chapel of the Catños – San Antonio)	29. Monastery of San Francisco (Genoese National Chapel)	AHPS, Protocolos, 9101 ff. 589r-591r.
1504	Domenego Espíndola	Unspecified (Genoese)*	*Vecino*	30. Monastery of San Pablo		AHPS, Protocolos, 9102 f. 209r-210v.
1506	Francisco Merello	Genoese	*Estante*	29. Monastery of San Francisco (Genoese National Chapel)		AHPS, Protocolos, 9104 ff. 758r-759v.
1506	Batista Cataño	Genoese	*Estante*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9104 ff. 198v-201r.
1506	Luis Cataño	Unspecified (Genoese)*	*Vecino*	60. Convent of San Agustín		AHPS, Protocolos, 9103 f. 936r-937v.
1507	Batistina Fornari	Unspecified (Genoese)*	*Vecina*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9105 ff. 131v-133r.

* All those marked with an asterisk have been identified as Genoese in origin from a variety of factors, including: stated origin of parents, name, use of titles like *micer*, and association with other explicitly identified Genoese people. Where an explicit statement of origin was lacking, a combination of these factors assisted in the identification; in all cases, more than one factor was present.

Date of Will	Name of Testator	*Naturaleza*	Juridical Status	First Burial Option	Second Burial Option	Source
1507	Francisco Xevle	Pisan	*Estante*	Executors decide		AHPS, Protocolos, 9105 f. 153r-154v.
1508	Francisco Doria	Genoese	*Estante*	30. Monastery of San Pablo		AHPS, Protocolos, 9107 f. 151-152v.
1508	Estéban Buenvecino	Genoese	*Estante*	Unspecified		AHPS, Protocolos, 9106 ff. 245r-247v.
1508	Lorenzo Garibaldo	Genoese	*Estante*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9112 ff. 41r-52r.
1509	Luco Pinelo	Genoese	*Vecino*	1. Cathedral (Chapel of the Pinelos – Virgen del Pilar)	63. Monastery of San Jerónimo de Buenavista	AHPS, Protocolos, 9107 ff. 907r-909r.
1510	Francisco Pinelo	Genoese	*Estante*	63. Monastery of San Jerónimo de Buenavista	Nearest church, if outside Seville	AHPS, Protocolos, 9110 f 304v-305v.
1510	Silvestre Vento	Genoese	*Vecino*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9111 f 686v-688v.
1511	Bernardo Grimaldo	Genoese	*Vecino*	44. Monastery of Santa Paula		AHPS, Protocolos, 9113
1511	Amerigo Vespucci	Florentine	*Vecino*	16. Parish of San Miguel	29. Monastery of San Francisco	AHPS, Protocolos, 19413.7 ff. 367r-371v.

Date of Will	Name of Testator	*Naturaleza*	Juridical Status	First Burial Option	Second Burial Option	Source
1514	Luis Riberol	Genoese	*Estante*	64. Monastery of San Isidro del Campo	29. Monastery of San Francisco (Genoese National Chapel)	AHPS, Protocolos, 9118, unfoliated.
1516	Jerónimo Grimaldo	Genoese	*Vecino*	30. Monastery of San Pablo		AHPS, Protocolos, 19415, ff. 575-581.
1521	Melchor Grimaldo	Genoese	*Vecino*	2. Parish of San Salvador		AHPS, Protocolos, 9128 ff. 767r-768r.
1522	Agustín Gentíl	Genoese	*Estante*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9130 ff. 159r-161v.
1524	Agustín Pinelo	Genoese	*Vecino*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9132 ff. 835r-838r.
1537	Batista Justinian	Genoese	*Vecino*	41. Monastery of Santa Inés	Monastery of Santo Domingo, Island of Hispaniola	AHPS, Protocolos, 9146 ff. 340r-341r.
1537	Juan Bautista Ridolfi	Florentine	*Estante*	30. Monastery of San Pablo (Florentine National Chapel)	Executors decide	AHPS, Protocolos, 9146 ff. 638r-641r.
1544	Agustín Vivaldo	Genoese	*Vecino*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9159 ff. 293v-299v.
1544	Melchor Salvago	Unspecified (Genoese)*	*Vecino*	63. Monastery of San Jerónimo de Buenavista		AHPS, Protocolos, 9159 ff. 876r-878v

Date of Will	Name of Testator	*Naturaleza*	Juridical Status	First Burial Option	Second Burial Option	Source
1545	Sebastían Centurión	Unspecified (Genoese)*	*Estante*	Unspecified		AHPS, Protocolos, 9160 ff. 1343r-1343v.
1546	Pedro Benito Grillo de Basiniana	Genoese	*Vecino*	4. Parish of San Andrés		AHPS, Protocolos, 19982 f. 1431r-1440r.
1546	Tomás Cibo de Veletare	Unspecified (Genoese)*	Unspecified	1. Parish of the Sagrario in the Cathedral		AHPS, Protocolos, 9161 ff. 606v-609r.
1553	Francisco Rigor	Lombard	*Morador*	29. Monastery of San Francisco		AHPS, Protocolos, 9171 ff. 370r-374v.
1555	Andrea de San Julián	Milanese	*Estante*	10. Parish of San Isidro		AHPS, Protocolos, 9175 ff. 511r-514v.

Appendix 2:
Tables of Testamentary Charity in Seville

Table 4: Testamentary Charity to Hospitals in Seville						
Date	Testator	San Lazaro	Las Animas	Los Innocentes	Amor de Dios y al Proximo	Source
1504	Domenego Espindola	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9102, f. 209r-210v.
1505	Lorenzo Garibaldo	3 rl				AHPS, Protocolos, 9112, f. 41-52.
1506	Batista Catano	1 rl				AHPS, Protocolos, 9104, f. 198v-201r
1506	Luis Catano	0.5 rl & 1,000 mrs in *tributo*	1,000 mrs	500 mrs in *tributo*		AHPS, Protocolos, 9103, f. 936r-937v
1507	Batistina Forne	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9105, f. 131v-133r
1507	Francisco Xevle	10 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9105, f. 153r-154v
1510	Silvestre Vento	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9111, f. 686v-688v
1511	Amerigo Vespucci	0.5 duc				AHPS, Protocolos, 19413.7, f. 367-
1516	Jeronimo Grimaldo	5 mrs				

1521	Melchor Grimaldo	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9128, f. 767r-768r
1522	Agustin Gentil	10 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9130, f. 159r-161v
1534	Rafael Sopranis	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9791, 22v-125v.
1537	Batista Justinian	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 340r-341r
1537	Juan Bautista Ridolfi	5 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 638r-641r
1544	Agustin Vivaldo	10 mrs				AHPS, Protocolos, 9159, f. 293v-299v
1553	Francisco Rigor	5 rl			200 duc	AHPS, Protocolos, 9171, f. 370r-374v
1555	Andrea San Julian	0.5 rl				AHPS, Protocolos, 9175, f. 511r-514v

Table 5: Other Testamentary Charity to the Poor in Seville				
Date	Testator	Recipient(s)	Amount	Source
1506	Luis Catano	Poor of the jails of the city council of Seville and the Santa Hermandad	1,000 mrs (each)	AHPS, Protocolos, 9103, f. 936r-937v
1508	Esteban Buenvecino	Poor of Seville (unspecified who)	12,000 mrs	AHPS, Protocolos, 9106, ff. 245-247v.
1513	Luis Riberol	Poor of Seville (unspecified who)	All his property in Seville (except a set of houses funding perpetual masses)	AHPS, Protocolos, 9118, unfoliated.
1516	Jeronimo Grimaldo	Dress 12 poor people (executors know who)		
1522	Agustin Gentil	Poor of Seville (unspecified who)	10 mrs	AHPS, Protocolos, 9130, f. 159r-161v
1537	Juan Bautista Ridolfi	Poor (executors know who)	40 duc	AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 638r-641r
1544	Melchor Salvago	Dress the poor of his neighborhood (collacion de la Magdalena)	Proceeds from the sale of his clothing	AHPS, Protocolos, 9146, f. 638r-641r
1553	Francisco Rigor	Poor living in front of the royal foundry	200 duc	AHPS, Protocolos, 9171, f. 370r-374v
		Poor of the jails of Seville	10 duc	
		Found198lings left before church doors (Cathedral & elsewhere)	300 duc in *tributos*	
		Cofradia del Santisimo Sacramento to distribute to the poor	20 duc	
		Poor children, for their education	10 duc	

Appendix 3:
Table of *Contrataciónes a Indias*

Date	Name	Origin	State?	Residence	Destination	Source
1511	Bernaldo Grimaldo	Genoese	Yes	Sevilla		AGI, Indiferente, 418, L. 2, f. 174v-175r
1512	Jácome de Castellón	Genoese	Yes	Toledo	Santo Domingo?	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 1, f. 137
1512	Francisco Pinelo	Genoese	No			AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 1, f. 171
1513	Pedro Espindola	Genoese	No	Sevilla		AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 1, f. 255
1522	Nicolas Grimaldo	Genoese	Yes		Santo Domingo	AGI, Indiferente, 420, L. 9, f. 4r-4v
1525	Benito Centurion	Genoese	Yes		Santo Domingo	AGI, Indiferente, 420, L. 10, f. 91v-92r
1525	Pedro Benito de Basiniana	Genoese	Yes	Sevilla	Santo Domingo	AGI, Indiferente, 420, L. 10, f. 16v-17r
1526	Esteban de Basiniana	Genoese	Yes		Santo Domingo	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 2, f. 35
1526	Batista Ginoves	Genoese	Yes	Genova		AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 2, f.33
1526	Juan Baptista Vasto	Genoese	Yes	Genova		AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 2, f. 33
1535	Jacome Rolando	Genoese	Yes		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 62
1535	Bernardino Bula	Genoese	Yes	Saona	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 185
1535	Luis Hernandez de Espindola	Genoese	No	Velez Malaga	Rio de la Plata	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 321
1535	Pedo Abbo (Albo)	Genoese	Parents		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 62
1535	Rolandin Abbo (Albo)	Genoese	Parents		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 62

1535	Anton Bafea (y Landa)	Genoese	Yes	Genoa	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 62
1535	Sebastian Bafea (y Landa)	Genoese	Yes	Genoa	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 62
1535	Francisco Boso (Baso)	Milanese	Parents		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 284
1535	Bernardino Bula	Savona	Yes	Savona	Mexico	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f. 185
1535	Luis Crespo	Genoese	Parents		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 3, f.62
1535	Antocho Chavarin	Genoese	Parents		Nueva Espana	Sarabia Viejo - Catalogo
1536	Anton Martin	Genoese	Parent	Villamartin		AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 4, f. 84r
1537	Estefano de Bufalo	Roman	Yes		Mexico	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 30v
1537	J. Emilio	Roman	Yes		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 30v
1537	Luis de Leon Romano	Roman	Yes		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 30v
1538	Melchor Gentil	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 135v
1538	Miguel Bautista	Genoese	Parent	Jerez de la Frontera	Florida	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 302v
1538	Hernando Pinelo	Genoese		Sevilla		AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 121v
1539	Pedro Barra	Genoese	Yes	Savona		AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 148r
1539	Pedro Barra	Genoese	Parents	Genoa	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 148r AND AGI, Mexico, 1088, L. 3, ff.140-141.
1539	Bartolome Graco	Genoese	Yes?		Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 227v

1540	Bartolome Graco	Genoese	Yes	Genova	Vera Cruz	AGI, Contratación, 5536, L. 5, f. 227v
1548	Antonio Corzo	Genoese	Yes		Nueva Espana	AGI, Indiferente, 1964, L. 11, f. 117v
1561	José Lomelín	Genoese	No	Mexico	Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 2049, N.66
1563	Felipe Centurion	Genoese	No	Sevilla-Peru	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5220, N. 1, R. 41
1565	Agustin Espinola	Genoese	Yes	Canarias	Nueva Espana	AGI, Indiferente, 2050, N. 68
1569	Damiana Spinola	Genoese	No	Canarias	Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 3
1570	Luis Spinola	Genoese	Yes	Sevilla	Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 2052, N. 72
1574	Juan Bautista Pinelo	Genoese	Yes	Sevilla	Nueva Espana	AGI, Indiferente, 2055, N. 33
1575	Juan Bautista Pinelo	Genoese	Yes	Sevilla	Nueva Espana	AGI, Indiferente, 2056, N. 22
1576	Nicolás Conte Grillo	Genoese	No	Jerez de la Frontera	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5225A, N. 1, R. 36
1580	Luis Catano de Casana	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Cuzco	AGI, Contratación, 5229, N. 1, R. 14
1584	Jeronimo Salvo	Genoese	Yes	Genova	Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 2061, N. 171
1584	Juan Bautista Marin	Genoese	Yes	Cuzco	Cuzco	AGI, Indiferente, 2094, N. 203
1585	Francisco Grillo Basiñana	Genoese	No		Nueva Espana	AGI, Indiferente, 2062, N. 51
1586	Juan Bautista Clavalo	Genoese	Yes		Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 2063, N. 22
1590	Bernardo Pinelo	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Guatemala	AGI, Contratación, 5232, N. 55
1593	Niculaso Forne	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Peru	AGI, Indiferente, 2101, N. 44

1593	Diego de Genova (Augustinian)	Genoese	Yes		Peru	AGI, Indiferente, 2101, N. 61
1594	Niculaso Forne	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5248, N. 1, R. 5
1596	Bartolome Catano	Genoese	No	San Juan de Bayaha	Santo Domingo	AGI, Contratación, 5251B, N. 1, R. 25
1598	Maria Calderon	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5256, N. 1, R. 23
1599	Pablo Mayolo	Genoese	No	Mexico	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5259B, N. 2, R. 38
1602	Ambrosio Centurion	Genoese	No	Mexico	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5272, N. 2, R. 13
1606	Francisco Espinola	Genoese	Yes		Nueva Espana, Tierra Firme, Peru	AGI, Indiferente, 2072, N. 14
1606	Carlos Espinola	Genoese	Parent	Madrid	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5296, N. 2, R. 20
1607	Gaspar Centurion Espinola	Genoese	No		Quito	AGI, Contratación, 5301, N. 2, R. 69
1610	Diego Ortiz de Salvago	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5320, N. 11
1610	Horacio Levanto	Genoese	Yes	Puebla	Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 449, L. A2, f. 148-148v
1610	Agustin Vivaldo	Genoese	No	Seville	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5318, N. 2, R. 25
1610	Maria Vivaldo	Genoese	No	Seville	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5317, N. 1, R. 25
1611	Andres Fiesco	Genoese	No	Queretaro	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5321, N. 2, R. 22
1612	Bartolome Mayoco		No	Cartagena	Cartagena	AGI, Contratación, 5326, N. 40
1612	Juan Bautista de Paz	Genoese	No	Madrid	Filipinas	AGI, Contratación, 5325, N. 34

1612	Juan Bautista de Paz	Genoese	No	Madrid	Filipinas	AGI, Contratación, 5329, N. 26
1612	Juan Pienlo	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Nueva Esapana - Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5328, N. 17
1612	Juan Pinelo	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5327, N. 58
1613	Baltasar Calar de Ayrolo	Genoese	No	Mexico	Mexico	AGI, Contratación, 5335, N. 4
1613	Gabriel de Ayrolo Calar	Genoese	No	Mexico	Mexico	AGI, Indiferente, 2074, N. 119
1613	Gabriel de Ayrolo Calar	Genoese	No	Mexico	Mexico	AGI, Contratación, 5335, N. 61
1613	Mariana de Espinola	Genoese	No	Mexico	Mexico	AGI, Contratación, 5393, N. 50
1614	Ines de Sandoval (Grimaldos)	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5333, N. 31
1621	Francisco Paz Espinola		No	Sevilla	Nueva Espana	AGI, Contratación, 5338, N. 12
1621	Magdalena Espinola	Genoese	No	Madrid	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5377, N. 25
1627	Diego Pinelo	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Peru	AGI, Contratación, 5377, N. 41
1632	Ambrosio Lujero	Genoese	No	Sevilla	Tierra Firme	AGI, Contratación, 5398, N. 36

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